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THE PREACHER AND HIS PROVINCE.

BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL GIBBONS.

AFTER the Bible, the study of mankind is the most important and the most instructive pursuit for the ambassador of Christ. The aim of his ministry is to enlighten and convince, to persuade and convert his fellow being, to elevate him to a higher plane of moral rectitude.

The first step toward the accomplishment of this noble aim is to obtain a thorough knowledge of man, his springs of action, his yearnings and desires, his passions and emotions, his vices and temptations, as also the arguments, the motives, and the means best calculated to promote his spiritual progress.

Now, the knowledge of the mysterious kingdom of the heart is more accurately acquired by studying the original than by seeing it described in a book. An artist makes a better portrait from a living subject than from his photograph. We view objects in the abstract in books, but in the concrete in living men.

Books describe human beings as existing in times and countries, or under circumstances different from our own. But in studying the race that surrounds us, we contemplate man just as he is to-day.

We see him not as reflected through the mind of another, but as viewed by ourselves. Human nature, it is true, is everywhere

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radically the same, but it receives a coloring and an impression from its environments. Man is influenced and modified in temperament and habits of thought by his social and domestic surroundings, and by the political institutions under which he lives.

By a knowledge of his own times and people, the speaker can accommodate his remarks to the special needs of his hearers.

An exhortation that would be admirably suited to a French or a Spanish congregation, might not be adapted to an American audience. A discourse against the evils of divorce, which is so vital a subject with us, would scarcely find any application in Ireland, or the Tyrol, where divorces are almost unknown. A sermon that would be most appropriate to a fourth or fifth century congregation, might be out of place in our time and country, as the prevailing errors and vices of those times are not the predominant errors and vices of to-day. St. John Chrysostom's arraignment of the voluptuous Court of Constantinople in the beginning of the fifth century would be a libel if applied to-day to the White House at Washington. His denunciations of the theatre in that city could not be justly repeated from an American pulpit without some important reservations.

They who have long experience in the ministry, cannot fail to observe the faults into which young clergymen, whose knowledge is chiefly confined to books, and who have had, as yet, little opportunity to commune with their fellow-men, are sometimes liable to fall. They are apt to attach undue weight to matters of minor importance, and to treat lightly subjects of grave moment; they may be strained, fanciful, and unreal, and talk over the heads of the people; or they may denounce in unmeasured, exaggerated terms, a social plague scarcely known by the congregation.

I once listened to a clergyman condemning in vehement language, low-necked dresses where their use was utterly unknown, and where the censure had as little application as it would have had among the inhabitants of the arctic regions. I heard of a young minister of the Gospel who delivered a homily on the ravages of intemperance before an audience composed exclusively of pious, unmarried ladies, who hardly knew the taste of wine.

Some of our separated clerical brethren are not unfrequently betrayed into similar errors by ascribing to their Catholic fellow-citizens religious doctrines and practices which the latter repudiate. A caricature, instead of a true picture, is held up to the

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public gaze, because the information is drawn from books, hearsay, or tradition, and not from contact with living men.

Another advantage which we derive from a discreet study of men, is the habit of moderation in our judgment of them. We will find that few men are altogether perfect, and few also totally depraved. Blemishes will be discovered in the most exemplary character, and traits of genuine goodness in the most abandoned and perverse. This two-fold experience will teach us to use sobriety of speech in praising virtuous men and women, including even canonized saints, and to avoid excessive harshness in reproving sinners. For if we paint righteous men without a single fault, we tempt the objects of our eulogy to vanity, and we discourage those that are earnestly aspiring to virtue; but if we paint the vicious as absolutely bad, we drive them to despair.

This subject is forcibly illustrated by the different methods pursued in writing the lives of men conspicuous for Christian or civic virtues. Some authors portrayed the saint, leaving out the man. They gave us the light without the shadow. There was no background to their picture. They exhibited an ideal character entirely free from human foibles. Many readers regard these biographies as one-sided and unreal, and take no pleasure in studying them. Others, accepting them as true, derive little consolation or encouragement from their perusal, since the model is beyond their reach.

Of late years, I am happy to say, we are treated to memoirs that aim at being true to life, that represent to us men of flesh and blood as well as of spirit,—men of strong faith, virility of soul, genuine charity, magnanimity of character, and self-denial, but not exempt from some of the imperfections incident to humanity. The merit of these biographies is that the author has either studied his subjects from life, or he represents them to us in their true light, as portrayed in their own actions and writings. The public man, whether churchman or layman, who never committed an error of judgment, or who was never betrayed into any moral delinquency, will hardly ever be credited with any great words or with deeds worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

The best models of biography are the inspired Penmen. They give us a faithful and accurate portrait of their most sacred subjects without any effort to hide their moral deformities or defects. David's sin, Peter's denial, Paul's persecution of the early

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Church, the worldly ambition of the sons of Zebedee, the incredulity of Thomas, are fearlessly recorded without any attempt at extenuation or palliation. The transgressions of these men arouse our compassion without diminishing our reverence for them, and serve by contrast to lend additional lustre to the halo of their subsequent lives.

Who thinks less of Augustin and Jerome, because he sees them engaged in earnest theological controversy which almost snapped asunder the bonds of charity? Who finds his veneration and love for Basil and Gregory cooled, because of the melancholy estrangement that followed a long and tender friendship? Whoever would omit these episodes on the plea of edification, would mutilate these glorious lives? "Hath God any need of your lie," says the Prophet, "that you should speak deceitfully for Him?"*

Neither have God's saints any need of having their faults suppressed. They are not whited sepulchres, and they fear not the light.

The alienation between Burke and Fox at the close of their career, though much to be deplored, does not diminish our admiration for those two statesmen. It brings out in stronger relief, the inflexible character of Burke, who sacrificed friendship on the altar of truth. It shows us that upright men may sometimes differ in conclusions without violating conscience, or incurring the unfavorable judgment of posterity.

Modern biographers, while dwelling with pride on the civic and military virtues of Washington, avoid the language of hyperbole in which some of his contemporary eulogists indulged toward the Father of His Country. They seemed to be so dazzled by the lustre of that great luminary before he descended below the horizon, that they could detect no shadow in the object of their adulation.

Webster, too, shortly after his death, was lauded with extravagant encomiums as a man above reproach. The dispassionate testimony of Mr. Bryce,† who says that his splendid intellect was mated to a character open to censure, will be acquiesced in by the judgment of impartial readers. Yet, the American people admire and cherish, none the less, these two illustrious per-

* Job XIII. 7.
† "The American Commonwealth," Vol. II.

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sonages, notwithstanding the more discriminating verdict and less fulsome praise of modern critics. The spots discovered in these effulgent suns, serve only to disclose in bolder light the splendor of their achievements. "Paint me as I am, warts and all," said Cromwell to Cooper, the artist.

The first living book that a student should read is his own heart, which is a little world in itself, a miniature of the great heart of humanity. "Know thyself," is a primary maxim of Christian, as well as of pagan, philosophy. Massillon was once asked how he could delineate so faithfully the emotions and rebellions of the human heart, and especially the intrigues, the ambition and jealousies of the Court, which he so rarely frequented. He replied that he drew his knowledge from the study of his own heart.

He will also find an open and instructive book full of object lessons in the mass of human beings that he may encounter in the daily walks of life. He can pick up useful bits of information from his companions during his college course, and afterward from the persons he may meet on the street, on the farm, in the workshop, in the counting-room, in the social circle, on the steamboat and on the railway.

Sir Walter Scott says that a man of active mind cannot talk to the boy who holds his horse without obtaining some new thought.

But it is especially while making his daily rounds through the parish that the clergyman acquires profitable instruction and subject matter for his sermons. He is made acquainted with their virtues and vices, and with the sources of their temptations. He observes their patience and fortitude in poverty and sickness, and their Christian resignation in the presence of death. He will often contemplate, in the cottages of the lowly, domestic peace and content which compensate them for their temporal privations. I have found evidences of genuine piety and gratitude even among the inmates of our penitentiary.

All this personal experience will enable the minister of God to speak in a manner intelligible and attractive to his audience, and to embellish his discourse by allusions to the incidents of daily life, like our Lord, who habitually instructed in parables, and who drew his illustrations from the surrounding landscape, and from the habits and occupations of the people.

This intercourse with living men not only enlightens the mind,

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but it also quickens the sympathies, and fires the heart of the speaker in the pulpit far more powerfully than abstract learning; for what is seen affects us more sensibly than what is read, and the earnestness of our words is proportioned to the strength of our impressions.

The more the man of God studies the inner life of the people, their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, the more persuasive and moving will be his exhortations. He will come down to the level of his flock, he will be in touch with them, and they will recognize that his heart is in his work. He will retain his hold on the masses without neglecting the classes.

But, if the preacher has not the sympathy that is born of a knowledge of the people; if he cannot say with his Master, "I know mine, and mine know Me," he may enlighten without warming them. His words may be like oil poured on water; they will not mingle with their hearts' blood.

These remarks apply to statesmen and lawyers, as well as to ministers of the Gospel. O'Connell's influence over the people of Ireland was such as no other man in his generation ever exerted on any nation. He could sway the multitude, move them to tears or laughter, playing on every chord of their heart. The secret of his empire over his countrymen was that he had sprung from the peasantry, and had lived among them. He knew their grievances and aspirations, and sympathized with them in their wrongs and sufferings.

Gladstone would never have attained his acknowledged eminence as a public speaker without his vast experience in the House of Commons. It was in that great university of politics that he learned the art of a consummate debater.

Daniel Webster was not more indebted to his book-learning for his success at the bar, than to his keen discernment of human character, and to his power to conciliate and control it. The following anecdote of him was related in my presence.

He and Rufus Choate were once pitted against each other as opposing counsel in a lawsuit concerning an alleged infringement of a patent right on locomotive wheels. The wheels were before the jury. Rufus Choate, as counsel for the defendant, expended his legal acumen in a learned and labored mathematical essay, going to prove that there was an essential difference between the wheels in evidence, and, therefore, no infringement on the patent

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right. Then Webster spoke for the plaintiff: "Gentlemen of the jury," said he, "you have heard an elaborate scientific disquisition upon those wheels. I have nothing of the kind to give you. There are the wheels. Look at them." The jury looked at them, and gave him the verdict. A judge, who attended the dinner, confirmed the truth of the anecdote, remarking that he happened to be engaged in that suit as junior counsel.

The difference between these two great lawyers was, that Choate bewildered the jury by the intricacies of a vocabulary above their comprehension, while Webster gained his case by appealing to their common sense.

Napoleon, though a poor shot, was the greatest general of his age. He said with truth of himself: "I know man." He owed his success to his insight into human character, which enabled him to make a judicious selection of his military officers and State officials.

I have heard of distinguished lawyers, when they have had an important case in hand, studying the habits, dispositions, and mental calibre of every member of the jury, and addressing to each in succession a few pertinent remarks calculated to convince his judgment, conciliate his good will, and gain his confidence.

Clergymen at the time of their ordination are, I think, as a rule, more thoroughly grounded in sacred science than graduating lawyers are in the abstract knowledge of their profession, because the curriculum of the former covers a longer period of time than that of the latter. But what the jurist may lack in book-lore, is compensated by his greater readiness of speech and felicity of expression. His faculties are sharpened by the contact of mind with mind in the courts, and by his habitual intercourse with the members of the bar, the jury and spectators. The earnest pleadings of his distinguished and experienced seniors are the strongest incentives to his intellectual activity and honorable emulation.

The soldier of Christ, on the other hand, on emerging from the seminary, is sometimes unwieldly, and is oppressed by the weight of his theological armor till he has acquired practice in the arena of Christian warfare.

This disadvantage on the part of clerical students would be overcome, at least partially, by the more general establishment and cultivation of debating societies for the senior classes

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in our colleges and seminaries. In them they would learn to acquire ease and fluency of expression, and to wield with dexterity the sword of the word of God.

They should, besides, profit by every opportunity to hear and observe practised speakers; for, as a person may read the most elaborate manual on politeness and etiquette, and yet be awkward and embarrassed in company, if he does not occasionally appear in refined society; so the student may peruse the most approved treatises on elocution without much profit, unless he is brought face to face with recognized orators, and feels the magnetic and inspiring influence of the living voice.

The learned men of ancient Greece and Rome did not consider their education complete till they had travelled abroad, and acquainted themselves with the habits and manners of other people and climes; and I am informed that, in our own day, a few of the leading universities of England and America have already a limited number of travelling scholarships.

Herodotus, the Father of History, derived most of the information embodied in his work from travel and converse with men.

Plato, after being eight years a disciple of Socrates, spent twelve years in the pursuit of knowledge in foreign parts before he returned to his native Athens.

Edmund Burke says of Homer and Shakspeare: "Their practical superiority over all other men, arose from their practical knowledge of other men"—a knowledge which Homer acquired by frequent journeys abroad; and Shakspeare, by studying mankind at home.

Cicero improved his sojourn in Greece and Asia by studying oratory under the best masters in those countries.

St. Jerome, the most eminent Hebrew scholar of his age, visited various cities of Gaul and Greece, Antioch and other places in Asia-Minor, Palestine, Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria and other centres of learning in Egypt, where he consulted the men most conspicuous in those times for erudition and piety. When his own fame for learning was spread abroad, scholars from all parts of the civilized world flocked to him as to an oracle.

Sir Walter Scott's charming novels are remarkable for their accuracy in the portraiture of Scotch character, and the scenes he describes. He obtained his information by traversing Scotland, living and conversing with the people, treasuring up their

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bits of local traditions, and afterward interweaving them with his historic romances. "I have read books enough," he says, "and conversed with splendidly educated men in my time; but, I assure you, I have heard higher sentiments from the lips of poor, uneducated men and women, than I have ever met with out of the pages of the Bible."

It is well known that, while Milton is read by the few, Dickens is read by the million. He made personal visits to the prisons, insane asylums, reformatories, and boarding schools of England. He frequented the haunts of poverty, suffering, and wretchedness in London. His sense of indignation is aroused against official insolence, cruelty, and injustice; and his warmest sympathy is quickened in behalf of the victims of legalized oppression and tyranny. He draws his scenes from actual life; he deals with the men and women of his own time, and he gains the popular heart.

I was never more impressed with the impulse given to knowledge by contact with learned men, than during the Vatican Council, when Prelates of world-wide experience and close observation were assembled in Rome. Each bishop brought with him an intimate acquaintance with the history of his country, and with the religious, social, and political condition of the people among whom he lived. One could learn more from a few hours' interview with those living encyclopædias than from a week's study of books. An earnest conversation with those keen-sighted churchmen on the social and moral progress of their respective countries, yielded as much more instruction and delight, as compared with a printed account, as a personal inspection of an international exposition would, in comparison with a description of it in the pages of an illustrated periodical. The living words left an indelible impress on the heart and memory.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the student who aspires to improve his knowledge by travel, should already possess maturity of years and judgment, and should have laid the foundation of the science which he desires to cultivate and develop. Above all, he must be a man who has acquired the habit of close observation. You will find two companions returning from a journey made together; the mind of the one is stored with useful facts gleaned on the way, while the other has scarcely a single practical incident to relate.

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It may be objected to literary tourists, that the knowledge they gather is sometimes purchased at the expense of piety; for Kempis says: "They who travel much abroad, are rarely sanctified." This axiom is true, indeed, of those that make excursions solely for pleasure's sake, but not of the diligent pilgrim who starts on his journey, bent on plucking fruits of wisdom by the road-side. David gave proofs of self-denial during his warlike expeditions;* but he sinned in his own home. Jerome's pilgrimages were blessed with an increase of sanctity and knowledge.

As the minister of Christ is pre-eminently the friend and father of the people, he cannot be indifferent to any of the social, political and economic questions affecting the interests and happiness of the nation. The relations of Church and State, the duties and prerogatives of the citizen, the evils of political corruption and usurpation, the purification of the ballot-box, the relative privileges and obligations of labor and capital, the ethics of trade and commerce, the public desecration of the Lord's day, popular amusements, temperance, the problem of the colored and Indian races, female suffrage, divorce, socialism, and anarchy—such are vital, and often burning, questions, on which hinge the peace and security of the Commonwealth.

Politics has a moral as well as a civil aspect. The clergyman is a social as well as a religious reformer, a patriot as well as a preacher, and he knows that the permanence of our civic institutions rests on the intelligence and the virtue of the people. He has at heart the temporal as well as the spiritual prosperity of those committed to his care. They naturally look up to him as to a guide and teacher. His education, experience, and sacred character give weight to his words and example.

There is scarcely a social or economic movement of reform on foot, no matter how extravagant or Utopian, that has not some element of justice to recommend it to popular favor. If the scheme is abandoned to the control of fanatics, demagogues, or extremists, it will deceive the masses and involve them in greater misery. Such living topics need discriminating judges to separate the wheat from the chaff.

And who is more fitted to handle these questions than God's ambassador, whose conservative spirit frowns upon all intem-

* II. Kings, or I. Samuel XXIII.

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perate innovations, and whose Christian sympathies prompt him to advocate for his suffering brethren every just measure for the redress of grievances and the mitigation of needless misery?

The timely interposition of the minister of peace might have helped to check many a disastrous popular inundation by watching its course, and diverting it into a safe channel before it overspread the country.

Nor can it be affirmed that the temperate and seasonable discussion of these problems, or at least of those phases of them that present a moral or religious aspect, involves any departure from evangelical and apostolic precedent. There is hardly a subject of public interest that has not been alluded to, if not discussed, by Christ or his Apostles. I may cite a few examples.

Our Saviour speaks of the relations of Church and State in His memorable declaration: "Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's."*

When the ancients asked our Lord to confer a favor on the centurion, they appealed to His patriotism, as well as to his zeal for religion. The centurion, they said, merits Thy bounty, "for he loveth our nation: and he hath built us a synagogue."†

John the Baptist gave this excellent advice to certain officers of the law who had consulted him: "Do violence to no man: neither calumniate any man: and be content with your pay"‡—a counsel that all public officials would do well to take to heart.

St. Paul eloquently treats of the duties and privileges of citizens: "Let every soul," he says, "be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God. . . . Render therefore to all their dues; tribute, to whom tribute is due; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honor, to whom honor."§

When the commander ordered him to be scourged, Paul protested against the outrage, and asserted his dignity as a Roman citizen, saying: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"‖ The same Apostle treats with admirable tact and apostolic charity the delicate race question, both from a religious and social standpoint.¶

St. James devotes a portion of his Epistle to Labor and Capital. He denounces the injustice and oppression of the employer

* Matthew XXII., 21. † Luke VII., 5. ‡ Ibid. III., 14. § Rom. XIII., 17. ‖ Acts XXII., 25. ¶ Gal. III.; Philemon.

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in language which, if uttered in our time from a Christian pulpit, might be censured as a direct assault on the rich and an incentive to sedition.*

The reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., in a series of Encyclicals, has enlarged, in his usual masterly manner and luminous style, on the great social and economic questions of the day.

In his Encyclical of January, 1895, addressed to the Hierarchy of the United States, his Holiness says: "As regards civil affairs, experience has shown how important it is that the citizens should be upright and virtuous. In a free State, unless Justice be generally cultivated, unless the people be repeatedly and diligently urged to observe the precepts and laws of the Gospel, liberty itself may be pernicious. Let those of the clergy, therefore, who are occupied with the instruction of the people, treat plainly this topic of the duties of citizens, so that all may understand and feel the necessity in political life, of conscientiousness, self-restraint and integrity; for 'that cannot be lawful in public, which is unlawful in private affairs.'"†

Of course, the kingdom of God and the salvation of souls, form the habitual theme of the minister of religion, and the burden of his life-long solicitude. The subjects to which I have referred are, in the nature of things, exceptional and incidental. They should be handled, moreover, with great prudence and discretion, with a mind free from prejudice and partisan spirit, and in the sole interests of Christian charity, social order, and public tranquillity.

Words, inspired by motives so elevated, will strengthen the hands of the civil authorities. They will be "like apples of gold on beds of silver."‡ They will be the oil of religion poured on the troubled waters of popular commotion; and the apostle of Christ, raising his voice in season, will merit the benediction of Heaven and the approval of all good men. "In the time of wrath," he will be a minister of peace and "reconciliation."§

J. CARD. GIBBONS.

* James V. † Longinqua Oceani Spatia. ‡ Prov. XXV., 11. § Ecclus. XLIV.

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GLIMPSES OF CHARLES DICKENS.

BY CHARLES DICKENS THE YOUNGER.

I.

My first recollections of my father date from a time when we were living in Devonshire Terrace, and just after his return from his first visit to America. One of the clearest of them is in connection with a certain American rocking-chair, which I presume he had brought back with him from the States, and in which he often used to sit of an evening singing comic songs to a wondering and delighted audience consisting of myself and my two sisters. "The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman," in the composition of which my father, and Thackeray, and George Cruikshank were all supposed to have had some sort of hand, was one of these ditties, and used to be sung with a prodigious dramatic effect; and although it was considered to be in some way George Cruikshank's patent, I never could see so much in his version as my father made of it—although, in the days before the great George took to teetotalism and to flinging an infinite quantity of cold water over everything, there was, no doubt, a good deal of humorous extravagance about his declamation of the story of this noble lord of high degree.

Another favorite song of ours—and I think my father enjoyed them all even more than we did—was one that was concerned with the history of Guy Fawkes; "Guy Fawkes, that prince of sinisters, who once blew up the House of Lords, the King, and all his ministers." The beginning of each verse contained some startling statement of this kind, which was afterwards modified and explained away in what we considered a most artful and humorous manner. I forget exactly what happened to interfere with the final stage of Guy Fawkes's nefarious project, but in an-

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other verse it was stated that Guy "crossing over Vauxhall Bridge, that way came into London. That is, he would have come that way to perpetrate his guilt, sir. But a little thing prevented him—the bridge it wasn't built, sir," and also that when they wanted to arrest him "they straightway sent to Bow Street for that brave old runner Townshend. That is they would have sent for him, for fear he was no starter at, but Townsend wasn't living then, he wasn't born till arter that." To each verse there was a chorus of the good old-fashioned sort, with an "oh, ah, oh, ri fol de riddy oddy, bow wow wow" refrain, and a great part of the point of the joke lay in the delivery of the introductory monosyllables; the first "oh" being given, as it were, with incredulity, or a tone of inquiry; the second "ah" strongly affirmatively, and the last "oh" with an air as of one who has found conviction not without difficulty. Some of Tom Moore's melodies also formed part of the repertoire, and there were no doubt others, which I have forgotten, but the impression of the singer, as he sat in that rocking-chair with us three children about or on his knees, has never in the least faded from my mind, though of his appearance at some other and later times the picture may be less vivid.

My first experience, I think, of my father's extraordinary energy and of the thoroughness—the even alarming thoroughness—with which he always threw himself into everything he had occasion to take up, was in connection with a toy theatre of which I was the proud possessor somewhere about the middle of the forties. Toy theatres with scenery and sheets of the characters only requiring painting and cutting out—one Skelt was the principal artist for such things—were very popular indeed in my very early youth, and it was the aim of every self-respecting boy to be the manager of one or more of them. Greater even than the pleasures of the ultimate performances and the accompanying delights of setting out the evil-smelling little footlights which lavished their oil over everything with which it was most desirable they should not come in contact, were the preparations—the painting the scenery, the painting and cutting out the characters, the pasting, the gumming, the thousand and one messes and snippings, and general causes of litter and untidiness, which were so dear to the boys of my time. Skelt, I am afraid, has long since vanished, and toy theatres are so seldom to be seen that I suppose

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the taste for them has gone out too. Perhaps the boys of to-day know too much about the real theatre to care very much about the toy one, and are not so ready to make-believe as we were. But in my time a toy theatre was about the most popular present you could give a boy, and when some philanthropist presented me with an unusually fine specimen, a perfect Drury Lane among its brethren, I anticipated an endless round of delights. But the size of my theatre fascinated my father, and, in conjunction with Clarkson Stanfield, who had been distinguished as a scene painter before he became a member of the Royal Academy, he set to work to produce the first piece. This, I remember, was a spectacle called the "Elephant of Siam," and its production on a proper scale of splendor necessitated the designing and painting of several new scenes, which resulted in such a competition between my father and Stanfield that you would have thought their very existences depended on the mounting of this same elephant. And even after Stanfield had had enough of it my father was still hard at work, and pegged away at the landscapes and architecture of Siam with an amount of energy which in any other man would have been extraordinary, but which I soon learned to look upon as quite natural in him. This particular form of dramatic fever wore itself out after the piece was produced, I remember, and the theatre—much to my delight, for I had hitherto had but little to do with it—found its way to the nursery, where in process of time a too realistic performance of the miller and his men, comprising an injudicious expenditure of gunpowder and red-fire, brought about the catastrophe which finishes the career of most theatres, and very nearly set fire to the house as well.

This extraordinary, eager, restless energy, which first showed itself to me in this small matter, was never absent from my father all through his life. Whatever he did he put his whole heart into, and did as well as ever he could. Whether it was for work or for play, he was always in earnest. Painting the scenes for a toy theatre, dancing Sir Roger de Coverley at a children's party, gravely learning the polka from his little daughters for a similar entertainment, walking, riding, picnicking, amateur acting, public reading, or the every-day hard work of his literary life—it was all one to him. Whatever lay nearest to his hand at the moment had to be done thoroughly. Mr. Forster says of him, as early as the summer of 1839, speaking of

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the recreations which were indulged in in the garden of the house at Petersham in which he was then living:

"Bar-leaping, bowling, and quoits were among the games carried on with the greatest ardor; and in sustained energy, or what is called keeping it up, Dickens certainly distanced every competitor. Even the lighter recreations of battledore and bagatelle were pursued with relentless activity; and at such amusements as the Petersham races, in those days rather celebrated, and which he visited daily while they lasted, he worked much harder himself than the running horses did."

Speaking through the mouth of David Copperfield, my father described his own way of life with perfect accuracy when he said:

"I never could have done what I have done without the habits of punctuality, order, and diligence, without the determination to concentrate myself on one object at a time, no matter how quickly its successor should come upon its heels. Heaven knows I write this in no spirit of self-laudation. My meaning simply is that whatever I have tried to do in life I have tried with all my heart to do well; that whatever I have devoted myself to, I have devoted myself to completely; that in great aims and in small I have always been thoroughly in earnest. Never to put one hand to anything on which I could throw my whole self, and never to effect depreciation of my work, whatever it was, I find now to have been my golden rules."

In a more homely way the same truth is insisted upon by Mr. and Mrs. Bayham Badger in *Bleak House*. "It was a maxim of Captain Swosser's, speaking in his figurative, naval manner," said Mrs. Badger, "that when you make pitch hot you cannot make it too hot; and that, if you only have to swab a plank, you should swab it as if Davy Jones were after you. It appears to me that this maxim is applicable to the medical as well as to the nautical profession." "To all professions," observed Mr. Badger. "It was admirably said by Captain Swosser, beautifully said."

And so it was. But, unfortunately, there comes a time at last when these maxims can be carried out too thoroughly; when never ceasing activity and energy of that kind really deserve Mr. Forster's epithet "relentless"; and when it becomes of the last importance, for physical as well as mental reasons, to remember that even a virtue carried to an unreasonable excess may become something very like a vice. In my father's case, as you have no doubt all heard, and as I shall presently show you, it would have been better if he had been content—or, perhaps, I should say if he had been able—to relax the constant strain, the incessant tension, when the physical and nervous strength were no longer so fit to bear them

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as they once had been. But he never could be persuaded that that time had come for him, and never would admit in his later days that things were no longer with him as they had been of old.

At the time of which I am now speaking the first of my father's numerous sojourns on the continent began, and we all started off one morning from Paris on our way south in that wonderful travelling carriage which is so graphically described in the *Pictures from Italy;* and I can remember many walks with my father up apparently interminable hills in the lonely French country districts, many queer dirty little towns the shabby sights of which had to be explored as if they were really quite well worth seeing, many cheery meals and snacks produced as by the conjurer's art from the innumerable pockets of the carriage, many wild roadside inns where in some mysterious way peculiar to himself my father, aided and abetted by the excellent courier who was in charge of the caravan, evolved order out of chaos, comfort out of squalor, and cheery, kindly attention out of the original sulky apathy. Of my father at Albaro and afterwards at Genoa in 1844 and 1845 I have, strange to say, but a dim recollection, though I have many vivid reminiscences of the vineyards of the "Pink Jail," as he called the house at Albaro, and of the fine terraced gardens of the Palazzo Peschiere in the beautiful city itself. But as he was, when free from pressure of work, frequently away travelling about the country, rushing over to London to read *The Chimes* to a party of friends in Mr. Forster's rooms, or what not, perhaps the circumstance is not so surprising after all. And of our journey homeward over the St. Gothard pass, all I distinctly remember is an extremely rocky and icy walk, from one point of the steep winding road to another, by way of a short cut. Indeed, I can see the pair of us now, he stalking away in the distance, I quite a small boy, struggling in vain to keep up, very tired, but extremely proud of being with him; bound to go on whether I liked it or not, not only from the point of honor, but because there was nowhere else to go to, and finally very nearly collapsing when the phantom path we had been following was found to disappear over a half-frozen little torrent which had to be crossed by the insecurest possible arrangement of stepping stones before the road and the carriage could be regained. Why, of all the beautiful mountain pictures which that journey must have presented to me,

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I should only remember this particular one, is one of those strange freaks of memory which we all know so well.

Shortly after our return home I had my first experience of my father as an actor, and, although I have little or no recollection of the play itself—it was Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*—except that I have a strong impression that I found it on the whole extremely dull, the humorous swagger and noble exaggeration of his Captain Bobadil are still quite fresh in my memory, and it does not require the aid of Mr. Leslie's portrait of him in the part, to bring the Captain very distinctly before my mind's eye. I shall have to recur several times before I conclude to my father as an actor—both on the boards and on the platform—but I may say now that if ever a man seemed to have been born for one particular pursuit it was my father in connection with the stage. He was, indeed, a born actor, and no line of character that I ever saw him essay came amiss to him. From Captain Bobadil to Justice Shallow, from old-fashioned farce, such as *Two o'clock in the Morning* and *Animal Magnetism*, to the liveliest Charles Mathewsisms, and thence again to the intensest Frederic Lemaitre melodrama, from the tremendous power of the Sikes and Nancy Reading to the absurdities of Serjeant Buzfuz, from the pathos of Little Dombey to the broad humors of Mrs. Gamp, everything seemed to come natural to him. That he brought to his acting the same earnestness and energy that he gave to everything else is of course true, but no amount of work could have produced the same result if the power had not been there, strongly, unusually strongly, developed. There was a quaint professional touch and yet one easy to understand about the remark which a stage carpenter once made to him during the progress of some amateur performances at the Haymarket Theatre: "Ah, Mr. Dickens, it was a sad loss to the public when you took to writing."

And, besides his powers as an actor, he had a positive genius for stage management. "Greatly as his acting contributed to the success of the night, this was nothing to the service he had rendered as manager," says Mr. Forster, speaking of the *Every Man in His Humour* performance, and we were all to have more practical experience of it by and by when we came to those famous Tavistock House theatricals.

The celebrated amateur dramatic performances at Tavi-

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stock House, which, in their full development with the *Frozen Deep*, were, I have no hesitation in saying, the most extraordinarily artistic and successful things of their kind ever known, had very modest and unassuming beginnings. We always had a large children's party on or about the 6th of January, and in the years 1852 and 1853 I and a schoolfellow of mine, since widely known as an accomplished man of letters, a brilliant lecturer, and an eloquent preacher—the Rev. Canon Ainger—got up two little plays, the one a burlesque of *Guy Fawkes*, by Albert Smith, and the other a burlesque on *William Tell*, by one of the Broughs, and disported ourselves therein to our heart's content, albeit in a scratch sort of manner, and with no special assistance from the authorities. In the following year, however, my father took the matter in hand and got up a revised and expurgated version of Fielding's *Tom Thumb*, in which parts were found for almost all his children and a number of their young friends besides, and which was presented with all needful accessories in the way of costumes, theatrical hairdressing, properties, and all the rest of it. This performance was so successful that a still more ambitious flight was essayed in the shape of Planché's *Fortunio* next year, with equally satisfactory results.

In both these performances my father took part on the stage, besides, as it seems to me, doing everybody's work, and more, in the course of preparation and rehearsal. He revised and adapted the plays, selected and arranged the music, chose and altered the costumes, wrote the new incidental songs, invented all the stage business, taught everybody his or her part, and was, in fact, everywhere and everything at once. The parts that he himself played were but small ones—the Ghost of Gaffer Thumb (with a song) in the first piece, and Baron Dunover, the impecunious father of the three heroines, in *Fortunio;* but in the latter piece he also appeared as the Expectant Cousin of the Nobility in General and, with a fixed and propitiatory smile on his face which I shall never forget—the very type of the smile of the sycophant and toady—constantly pervaded the stage, whence he was better able, than from the wing, to direct the performance.

In the *Tom Thumb* playbill he described himself as the modern Garrick, while Mark Lemon—affectionately known to all of us children as Uncle Mark—played Glumdalca, the beauti-

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ful Queen of the Giants, and figured in the bill as the Infant Phenomenon in humorous allusion to his somewhat Fallstaffian proportions. The *Tom Thumb* playbill was, after all, a simple affair enough, but in drawing up the bill of fare for *Fortunio* my father gave himself up to the joke of the thing altogether, and produced a wild document indeed. A number of startling headlines announced the reëngagement of "that Irresistible comedian Mr. Ainger"; the reappearance of Mr. H., "who created so Powerful an Impression last year"—Mr. H. was my brother, Henry Fielding, now Queen's Counsel, who was then six years old; the return of Mr. Charles Dickens, Jr., from his German engagements; the engagement of Miss Kate, my sister, now Mrs. Kate Perugini, the artist, "who declined the munificent offers of the management last season"; the engagements of Mr. Passé, Mr. Mudperiod, Mr. Measley Servile, and Mr. Wilkini Collini. Mr. Passé was my father, as Baron Dunover, and under the name of Measley Servile he played the expectant cousin; Mr. Mudperiod was Mark Lemon as the Dragon, and you will have no difficulty in recognizing in the gentlemen with the Italian name Mr. Wilkie Collins, who played one of Fortunio's seven gifted servants. Finally came the "first appearance on any stage of Mr. Plornishmaroontigoonter, who has been kept out of bed at a vast expense." This performer, whose name—one of the absurd nicknames which my father invented for all of us in turn—was almost as long as himself, was my youngest brother, aged about two. The plays were capital fun—it is something to be able to look back to a time when one enjoyed anything so much—and equally good were the dances and suppers afterwards.

Sir Roger de Coverley—does anybody ever dance Sir Roger de Coverley now? I wonder—was always a great institution in our house; we knew all about Scotch Reels and Country Dances—"hands half round and back again the other way, down the middle and up again, round and round in various stages of affectionate grouping, old top couple always turning up in the wrong place, new top couple starting off as soon as they got there, all top couples at last and not a bottom one to help them" as Mr. Fezziwig very well knew—and with my father to lead the revels and to dance, himself, as if the world contained no other duty or pleasure, those Twelfth Night parties were, indeed, things to be remembered.

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Of course it was clear that something more important must come of all this, and that something came very soon, only six months afterwards, in fact, in the shape of Wilkie Collins's powerful and ingenious drama, *The Lighthouse*, in which my father, for the first time, I think, displayed that extraordinary melodramatic intensity and force with which his readings were afterwards to make the public so familiar. The earlier plays had had practically no assistance in the way of scenery, but now the services of no less an accomplished painter than Clarkson Stanfield were requisitioned, and, besides devising a very ingenious arrangement of the interior of the Eddystone Lighthouse, in which the action of the play took place, he painted a most striking seascape of the lighthouse itself in heavy weather to serve as an act-drop. The principal parts were played by my father, this time under the name of Mr. Crummles—the theatre was described in the bills, by the by, as the smallest theatre in the world, as, no doubt, it was—Wilkie Collins, Mark Lemon, my eldest sister, and my aunt, Miss Hogarth, while minor characters brought in Augustus Egg, myself, Ainger, and some others.

There was a prologue, written and spoken by my father, which ran as follows:

"A story of those rocks where doomed ships come
To cast their wrecks upon the steps of home,
Where solitary men the long year through—
The wind their music and the brine their view—
Warn mariners to shun the beacon light;
A story of those rocks is here to-night.
Eddystone Lighthouse, in its ancient form,
Ere he who built it wished for the great storm
That shivered it to nothing, once again,
Behold out-gleaming on the angry main!
Within it are three men; to these repair
In our frail bark of fancy, swift as air!
They are but shadows, as the rower grim
Took none but shadows in his boat with him.
So be *ye* shades, and, for a little space,
The real world a dream without a trace.
Return is easy. It will have ye back
Too soon to the old dusty beaten track;
For but one hour forget it. Billows rise,
Blow winds, fall rain, be black ye midnight skies!
And you who watch the light, Arise! Arise!"

At the cue, "Eddystone Lighthouse," the green curtain was raised, and displayed, to the unbounded astonishment of the au-

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dience, Stanfield's picture; and the words, "billows rise," were my signal—I was in charge of the storm—to let loose the elements. We had all the correct theatrical weather out in the hall: the sort of silk grindstone for the wind—Marcus Stone, now R. A., turned the wind, if I remember rightly—the long box of rain, the flash for the lightning, the sheet of iron for the rattle of the thunder, besides half a dozen cannon balls to roll about on the floor to simulate the shaking of the lighthouse as it was struck by the waves. It was nervous work, this riding on the whirlwind and directing the storm. It had to be done all through the first act, exactly at the word, of course, and only for a rigidly defined time, and I could always tell by the very look of my father's shoulders at rehearsal, as he sat on the stage with his back to me, that he was ready for the smallest mistake, and that if I didn't wave that flag at exactly the right moment, or if the component parts of my storm were at all backward in attending to their business, there would promptly come that fatal cry of "stop!" which pulled everything up short and heralded a wigging for somebody. The window of the lighthouse room had to be opened, with great difficulty in the teeth of the gale, two or three times in the course of the act, and then my storm and I all went raving mad together, while Stanfield—I can see now his jolly red sailor face beaming with excitement and delight—crouching against the scene near the aperture, threw salt on the stage to represent (I am afraid rather indifferently, though *he* thought it all right) the flying spray. Three times we played *The Lighthouse*, and each time with quite astounding success.

It is curious to note, as showing how carefully the piece had been written and arranged for the peculiar circumstances under which it had to be played, that when it was tried at the Olympic Theatre, even with so great an actor as Frederick Robson in my father's part, it produced little or no effect.

The following Christmas was passed in Paris, and, as far as amateur theatricals were concerned, was necessarily blank, but on the sixth of January, 1857, the Tavistock House theatricals reached their climax in the production of Wilkie Collins's *Frozen Deep*. This was a very ambitious effort indeed, as far beyond *The Lighthouse* as *The Lighthouse* was in advance of *Guy Fawkes* and *William Tell;* and looking back upon it all, and recalling the little stage on which it all had to be done, the extraordinary

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perfection to which infinite ingenuity and endless pains brought it is a marvel to me to this day.

The schoolroom at Tavistock House was a good sized room—nothing more—with a fairly large bay window, which did not, however, occupy the whole of one side. *The Lighthouse* being only in one scene, was played opposite this bay in which the audience were seated, but for the *Frozen Deep*, which was arranged in three acts, the bay had to be used for the stage, and had, furthermore, to be supplemented by a great wooden construction erected outside the windows. This arrangement—the windows, of course, being taken out—was utilized in the most artful manner by the scene-painters, as well as by the author, who in the construction of his play kept the necessities and disqualifications of the peculiarly shaped little stage carefully in view, and quite surprising scenic and dramatic effects were the result. The cast of characters being comparatively large, and a number of supernumeraries having to be on the stage in the scene of the hut in the Arctic regions in the second act, with a good deal of stage business to get through too, a prodigious amount of rehearsal was imperatively necessary. I think we pegged away at the *Frozen Deep* for quite three months, three and sometimes four times a week; indeed, for those who were engaged in the farces as well as the play, life, when it came to December, seemed to be one long rehearsal. But if we had to work hard we had plenty of fun, and the enjoyment of the rehearsal-night suppers would have made amends for even harder work than we had. You will form some idea of the number of people who were continually in the house—company, carpenters, scene-painters' assistants, and the rest—and of the unceasing hospitality of the manager, when I tell you that the butcher called in person on my mother one day, to point out that he was supplying such an abnormal quantity of joints that he thought it his duty to mention it to her in order to be sure that there was no mistake. As to what sort of condition the house was for living in, all this time, some extracts from my father's letters, describing the state of things, will give you a pretty good notion. He wrote to Mr. Forster:

"You will be surprised by the look of the place. It is no more like the schoolroom than it is like the sign of the Salutation Inn at Ambleside, in Westmoreland. The sounds in the house remind me, as to the present time, of Chatham dockyard—as to a remote epoch, of the building of Noah's Ark. Joiners are never out of the house, and the carpenters appear to be

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unsettled (or settled) for life. . . . All day long a laborer heats size over the fire in a great crucible. We eat it, drink it, breathe it, and smell it. Seventy paint-pots (which came in a van) adorn the stage; and thereon may be beheld Stanny and three Dansons, all painting at once. Meanwhile Telbin, in a secluded bower in Brewer Street, Golden Square, plies *his* part of the little undertaking."

Of his own particular occupation at this time he wrote to Macready :

"You may faintly imagine, my venerable friend, the occupation of these also gray hairs, between *Golden Marys*, *Little Dorrits*, and *Household Wordses*, four stage carpenters entirely boarding on the premises, a carpenter's shop erected in the back garden, size always boiling over on all the lower fires, Stanfield perpetually elevated on planks and splashing himself from head to foot; Telbin requiring impossibilities of smart gasmen, and a legion of prowling nondescripts forever slinking in and out. Calm amidst the wreck, your aged friend glides away on the *Dorrit* stream, forgetting the uproar for a stretch of hours, refreshes himself with a ten or twelve miles walk, pitches head foremost into foaming rehearsals, placidly emerges for editorial purposes, smokes over buckets of distemper with Mr. Stanfield aforesaid, again calmly floats upon the *Dorrit* waters."

It *was* a good deal of work for one man to get through.

The outcome of the seventy paint-pots, the size, and the distemper was that Mr. Telbin, with the assistance of Messrs. Danson, painted a charming drawing-room scene with a beautiful sunset effect for the first act; while Stanfield, "Stanny ' for short, arranged for the second act the hut in the Arctic regions, with a fine view of the icefield on a back cloth out on the scaffolding in the garden, and for the third a cave on the coast of Newfoundland, where all the characters met by a rather remarkable series of coincidences, with another admirable back cloth showing the sea and a man-of-war at anchor. The prologue was again written by my father, and delivered by Mr. Forster, who used to prowl about the stage with baleful looks when the time for beginning drew near, and mouthed his "hollow aes and oes" quite in the most approved Macready fashion.

In some respects my father's performance in this piece even surpassed that in *The Lighthouse*; and in one particular scene I remember his realism was positively alarming—not to say painful. In his demented condition in the last act he had to rush off the stage, and I and three or four others had to try and stop him. He gave us fair notice early in the rehearsals that he meant fighting in earnest in that particular scene, and we very soon found out that the warning was not an idle one. He went at it after a

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while with such a will that we really did have to fight, like prize-fighters, and as for me, being the leader of the attacking party and bearing the first brunt of the fray, I was tossed in all directions and had been black-and-blue two or three times before the first night of the performance arrived.

The 6th of January, 1857, as I have said, saw the production of the play, and it was at the subsequent supper of the performers and some of the guests that Lord Campbell declared that he would rather have written *Pickwick* than be Lord Chief Justice of England and a Peer of Parliament.

Two or three times more we played the *Frozen Deep* at home to audiences of ninety or so, who were got into the theatre somehow, and then the stage was dismantled, never to be restored. Afterwards we played the piece for the Jerrold fund—now at the Gallery of Illustration, now at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, where our little fit-up looked not much bigger than a Punch and Judy show, but where the play went quite as well as it had ever done in the Tavistock House schoolroom. Also we had the honor of giving a private performance at the Gallery of Illustration before Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince Consort, and I can well recall the excitement which was caused among the younger members of the company by the presence of the Princess Royal and the Crown Prince of Prussia, then just engaged to be married. Of the difficulty that stood in the way of my father's paying his respects to Her Majesty that night in response to her expressed desire, he wrote:

"My gracious sovereign was so pleased that she sent round begging me to go and see her, and accept her thanks. I replied that I was in my farce dress, and must beg to be excused. Whereupon she sent again, saying that the dress 'could not be so ridiculous as that,' and repeating the request. I sent my duty in reply, but again hoped Her Majesty would have the kindness to excuse my presenting myself in a costume and appearance that were not my own."

This excuse commended itself to Her Majesty's invariable tact and consideration, and my father carried his point, and it was thirteen years before the Queen had an opportunity of thanking him personally for the evening's entertainment.

CHAS. DICKENS.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

At the Saratoga meeting in 1892 the National Educational Association appointed a committee of ten persons to consider and report upon the subjects of study and the methods of instruction in secondary schools, including public high schools, private academies, and schools preparing students for college. President Eliot, of Harvard was appointed chairman, with nine associates, four of whom were presidents of colleges, one a professor in a college, two principals of public high schools, and one head master of a preparatory school. This "Committee of Ten," as it is generally called, had authority to select the members of special conferences and to arrange meetings for the discussion of the principal subjects taught in schools preparatory to college. Accordingly, nine such conferences were appointed, each consisting of ten members, representing, as fairly as possible, the colleges on the one hand and the secondary schools on the other. The subjects represented were Latin, Greek, English, other modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy (including physics, astronomy, and chemistry), natural history (and biology, including botany, zoology, and physiology), history (including also civil government and political economy), geography (including physical geography, geology, and meteorology). The National Educational Association appropriated the sum of $2,500 towards defraying the expenses of the conferences.

The report was completed and published in the spring of 1894. Thirty thousand copies were distributed by the National Bureau of Education, and since then edition after edition has been printed and sold by the National Educational Association through an agent.

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No educational document before published in this country has been more widely read or has excited more helpful discussion. The secondary instruction of the country has been considered to be the weakest part of the entire system, although it is conceded on all hands that the teachers in secondary schools are, on the average, much superior in professional and general culture to the teachers in elementary schools, if not to those in colleges. The reason for this defect in secondary schools has been found in the course of study. A majority of the public high schools and a larger majority of the private academies dilute their secondary course of study by continuing elementary studies beyond their proper limit. Arithmetic, descriptive geography, grammar, history of one's native country, literature written in the colloquial vocabulary, are each and all very nourishing to the mind when first begun, but their educative value is soon exhausted. The mind needs for its continuous development more advanced branches, such as algebra and geometry, physical geography, a foreign language, general history. But for these the secondary school often substitutes other branches that involve no new methods nor more complex ideas, and the pupil stops in the elementary stage of growth.

The influence of the report of the Committee of Ten has been to impel secondary schools towards the choice of well-balanced courses of study containing subjects which belong essentially to secondary education, like algebra, Latin or physics ; and at the same time either to discontinue elementary branches, or to apply to the study of these a superior method, by which their principles are traced into higher branches and explained.

The success of the report of the Committee of Ten has been such as to arouse eager interest in a similar inquiry into the work of the elementary schools. Already, in February, 1893, a committee had been appointed by the Department of Superintendence in the National Educational Association. It was made to consist of fifteen members instead of ten and has been known as the Committee of Fifteen.*

* This committee, with Mr. W. H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools, Brooklyn, N. Y., as chairman, was organized by him into three sub-committees. (1) On the training of teachers: H. S. Tarbell, Edward Brooks, F. M. Balliet, N. C. Dougherty and O. H. Cooper, respectively the superintendents of public schools in the cities of Providence, R. I., Philadelphia, Pa., Springfield, Mass., Peoria, Ill., and Galveston, Texas.

(2) On the correlation of studies in elementary education: W. T. Harris, J. M. Greenwood, C. B. Gilbert, L. H. Jones, W. H. Maxwell—Messrs. Greenwood, Gil-

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The report of this "Committee of Fifteen" was submitted to the Department of Superintendents at its recent meeting (February, 1895) in Cleveland and is now before the public.*

It is the object of this paper to indicate briefly the points that give it importance.

If one were to summarize concisely the history of educational progress in the United States for the present century as regards the elementary schools, he would say that there has been a change from the ungraded school in the sparsely settled district to the graded school of the city and large village. The ungraded school held a short session of three or four months, was taught by a makeshift teacher, had mostly individual instruction, with thirty or forty recitations to be heard and five minutes or less of the teacher's time per day for each.

The graded school has classified its pupils according to degree of advancement and assigns two classes to a teacher. Instead of five minutes for a recitation, there are twenty or thirty minutes, and the teacher has an opportunity to go behind the words of the book and by discussion and questioning probe the lesson, find what the pupil really understands and can explain in his own words. Each member of the class learns more from the answers of his fellow-pupils and from the cross-questioning of the teacher than he could learn from a lesson of equal length with a tutor entirely devoted to himself.

The graded school continues for ten months instead of three, and employs or may employ a professionally educated teacher. This is the most important item of progress to be mentioned in the history of our education. Normal schools, two hundred in number, have been created in the various States, and it is estimated that the cities, large and small, have an average of fifty per cent. of professionally trained teachers, while the ungraded schools in the rural districts are taught by persons who leave their regular vocations and resort to teaching for a small portion of the year.

The urban and suburban population, counting in the large

bert and Jones being respectively city superintendents in Kansas City, St. Paul and Cleveland.

(3) On the organization of city school systems: A. S. Draper, E. P. Seaver, A. G. Lane, A. B. Poland and W. B. Powell; Mr. Draper being president of the University of Illinois, and the other members respectively the city superintendents of Boston, Chicago, the state superintendent of New Jersey, the city superintendent of Washington, D. C.

* See the *Educational Review* for March.

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villages, is at present about fifty per cent. of the population of the whole country.

One improvement leads to another, and where the graded school has been established with its professionally trained teachers it has been followed by the appointment of experts as superintendents, until over 800 cities and towns in the nation have such supervision. The fifty States have each a State superintendent, who, in most cases, controls the licensing of teachers in rural districts.

With the advent of the professional teacher and the expert supervisor, there has arrived an era of experiment and agitation for reforms.

The general trend of school reforms may be characterized as in the direction of securing the interest of the pupil. All the new devices have in view the awakening of the pupil's inner spring of action. He is to be interested and made to act along lines of rational culture through his own impulse. The older methods looked less to interesting the pupil than to disciplining the will in rational forms. "Make the pupil familiar with self-sacrifice, make it a second nature to follow the behests of duty and heroically stifle selfish desires"—this was their motto, expressed or implied. It was an education addressed primarily to the will. The new education is addressed to the feelings and desires. Its motto is: "Develop the pupil through his desires and interests." Goethe preached this doctrine in his *Wilhelm Meister*. Froebel founded the kindergarten system on it. Colonel Parker's Quincy school experiment was, and his Cook County Normal School is, a centre for the promulgation of this idea. Those who advocate an extension of the system of elective studies in the colleges and its introduction even into secondary and elementary schools justify it by the principle of interest.

It is noteworthy that this word "interest" is the watchword of the disciples of the Herbartian system of pedagogy. Herbart, in his psychology, substituted desire for will. He recognizes intellect and feeling and desire (*Begierde*). Desire is, of course, a species of feeling—for feeling includes sensations and desires, the former allied to the intellect and the latter to the will. But sensation is not yet intellect, nor is desire will; both are only feeling.

I have described and illustrated this general trend of school

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reform in order to show its strength and its weakness, and to indicate the province marked out for a report that should treat of the branches of study and the methods of instruction in the elementary school and suggest improvement.

While the old education in its exclusive devotion to will training has slighted the intellect and the heart (or feelings), the new education moves likewise towards an extreme as bad, or worse. It slights direct will-culture and tends to exaggerate impulse and inclination or interest. An educational psychology that degrades will to desire must perforce construct an elaborate system for the purpose of developing moral interests and desires. This, however, does not quite succeed until the old doctrine of self-sacrifice for the sake of the good is reached.

"Our wills are ours, to make them thine."

The philosophy of the *Bhagavad Gita* holds that the goal of culture is to annihilate all interest and attain absolute indifference—this is adopted by Buddhism in the doctrine of Nirvana. Indian renunciation reaches the denial of selfhood, while the Christian doctrine of renunciation reaches only to the denial of selfishness and the adoption of altruistic interests.

However this may be, the pedagogic impulse to create devices for awakening the interest of the pupil becomes sometimes a craze for novelty. Change at any price and change of any kind is clamored for. It is a trite saying that change is not progress. It is more apt to be movement in a circle or even retrogression. An amusing example was lately furnished in educational circles. A superintendent of rural schools defended their want of classification as an advantage. It was "individual instruction," and, as such, an improvement over that of the graded school of the cities. His reactionary movement received the support of some of the advocates of educational reform on the ground that it was a new departure. This happened at a time when one-half of the school children in the United States are still taught, or rather allowed to memorize their text books, by this method!

The sub-committees on training of teachers and on the organization of city school systems have brought forward, in their respective reports, the latest devised measures for the perfection of normal schools and the procurement of expert supervisors for city school systems. The importance of the recommendations regarding schools for the training of teachers is seen when one

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recalls to mind the fact that the entire upward movement of the elementary schools has been initiated and sustained by the employment of professionally trained teachers and that the increase of urban population has made it possible. In the normal school the candidate is taught the history of education, the approved methods of instruction, and the grounds of each branch of study as they are to be found in the sciences that it presupposes.

The method of eliminating politics from the control of a city school system is discussed in Judge Draper's frank and persuasive style, and a plan in essential particulars similar to that adopted in the city of Cleveland is recommended for trial in all large cities. A small school-board of five or ten members is appointed by the Mayor, which in turn elects a school director (but this officer may also be appointed by the Mayor), who takes charge of the business side of the management of schools. For the professional side of the work a superintendent is appointed by the school director, with the approval of two-thirds or three-fourths of the school board. The terms of office suggested are, respectively, for the members of the school board appointed by the Mayor, five years; for the school director, five years; for the superintendent, five to ten years. The superintendent appoints all teachers from an eligible list of candidates whose qualifications are defined by the school board.

This plan of government is based on the idea of the importance of personal responsibility at all points in the administration. Only an actual trial can determine its strength or weakness. All plans, as Judge Draper well says, presuppose a public spirit and a moral sense on the part of the people; they presuppose a sincere desire for good schools and a fair knowledge of what good schools are and of the best means of creating them. Where the whole people possesses political power, the intelligent and virtuous citizens must exert a continual influence or else the demagogues will come into office. For the natural representative of the weakling classes is the demagogue. Whether the citizen is weak in intellect, or thrift, or morals, it is all the same; he will vote for the demagogue as ruler.

The report on the correlation of studies is an attempt to reconcile the old and the new in education by discovering what in the course of study is or should be permanent and what in the nature of things is transient. It admits the claims of the new

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education, as to making the appeal to the child's interest paramount, so far as this relates to the methods of instruction, but it finds a limit to this in the matters to be taught. It discusses the educational value of the five principal factors of the course of study in order to determine clearly where the proposed new branches of study belong and what they add to the old curriculum. These five components of a course of study are: (1) Grammar, as a study of the structure of language; (2) Literature, as a study of the art form of language—literature as furnishing a revelation of human nature in all its types; (3) Mathematics, as furnishing the laws of matter in movement and rest—the laws grounded in the nature of space and time; (4) Geography, as a compend of natural and social science—unfolding later, in secondary and higher education, into geology, botany, zoölogy, meteorology on the one hand, and into anthropology and sociology, economics and politics on the other; (5) History, as showing the origin and growth of institutions, especially of the State. It appears that these five branches cover the two worlds of man and nature, and that all theoretical studies fall within these lines. This is the correlation of study. Each essential branch has some educational value that another does not possess. Each branch also serves the function of correlating the child to his environment, namely, to the two worlds of nature and human society.

Hitherto, we are told in this report, the course of study has been justified on psychological grounds—"literature cultivates the memory and the imagination"; "arithmetic the reason," etc. But each branch has in some measure a claim on all the faculties. Arithmetic cultivates the memory of quantity, the imagination of successions, and the reason in a peculiar figure of the syllogism different from the three figures used in qualitative reasoning.

The report, however, makes frequent appeal to experimental psychology in dealing with the question of the time devoted to the several branches. For example, it often discusses the danger of too much thoroughness of drill in teaching and the use of processes that become mechanical after some time. The rapid addition of numbers, the study of the geometrical solids, the identification of the colors of the spectrum, the reading of insipid pieces written in the colloquial vocabulary, the memorizing of localities and dates; all these things may be continued so long under the

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plea of "thoroughness" as to paralyze the mind, or fix it in some stage of arrested growth.

The committee have been at much pains to point out the importance of leaving a branch of study when it has been studied long enough to exhaust its educational value. It is shown in the case of arithmetic that it ought to be replaced by algebra two years earlier than is the custom in the public schools at present. The arithmetical method should not be used to solve the class of problems that are more easily solved by algebra. So, too, it is contended that English grammar should be discontinued at the close of the seventh year, and French, German or Latin—preferably the last—substituted for it. The educative value of a study on its psychological side is greatest at the beginning. The first six months in the study of algebra or Latin—it is claimed that even the first four weeks—are more valuable than the same length of time later on. For the first lessons make one acquainted with a new method of viewing things.

In recommending the introduction of Latin and algebra into the seventh and eighth years of the elementary school course, the committee are in accord with the Committee of Ten, who urged the earlier commencement of the secondary course of study.

The committee urge strongly the subordination of elocution and grammar in the reading exercises to the study of the contents of the literary work of art, holding that the best lesson learned at school is the mastery of a poetic gem or a selection from a great prose writer. It is contended that the selections found in the school readers often possess more literary unity than the whole works from which they were taken, as in the case of Byron's "Battle of Waterloo" from "*Childe Harold.*" The importance of studying the unity of a work of art is dwelt upon in different parts of the report and the old method of parsing works of art censured.

An example of the Herbartian correlation is found in the method recommended for teaching geography, namely, that the industrial and commercial idea should be the centre from which the pupil moves out in two directions—from the supply of his needs for food, clothing, shelter, and culture, he moves out on the side of nature to the "elements of difference," that is to say, to the differences of climate, soil, productions, and races of men, explaining finally by geology, astronomy and meteorology how

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these differences arose. On the other hand, he moves towards the study of man, in his sociology, history, and economics, discovering what means the race has invented to overcome those "elements of difference" and supply the manifold wants of man wherever he lives by making him participant in the productions of all climes through the world commerce.

Likewise in the study of general history the committee suggest that the old method of beginning with the earliest ages be discontinued and that a regressive method be adopted, proceeding from United States history back to English history, and thence to Rome, Greece and Judea, and the other sources of our civilization.

In contrast to this genuine correlation the report describes an example of what it calls "artificial correlation"—where Robinson Crusoe or some literary work of art is made the centre of study for a considerable period of time, and geography, arithmetic and other branches taught incidentally in connection with it.

Perhaps the most important portion of this report is its attempt to draw a line between secondary and elementary studies. The recommendation to shorten the time devoted to the strictly elementary work, and to take up the two chief secondary studies in the seventh and eighth years will, when generally adopted, largely increase the number of pupils who continue their school life into secondary and higher education. This, with the subordination of grammar to literary art and the shortening of the course in arithmetic, leaving what General Walker calls the "conundrums" for algebraic treatment, makes a series of radical departures which ought to please the warm advocates of progressive measures, notwithstanding the fact that a strongly conservative position is taken regarding the educational value of the staple branches hitherto taught.

W. T. HARRIS.

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OUR SITUATION VIEWED FROM WITHOUT.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

AN Englishman visiting the United States at this time, finds his American friends peering with more than usual anxiety into the mist which shrouds the immediate future. He, of course, does not see so much as a native sees; but he looks from a different point of view, and he has the advantage of comparison with another country to aid him in taking the measure of the American situation. Foreigners visiting the United States, even those who come for the special purpose of observation, commonly confine their inspection to the great cities, which are the chief seats of the political evil and the storm centres of danger. One who has seen the country also, will have ever present to his mind the reserve of good sense and patriotism of which the rural districts are the seat. To trust that reserve in due measure and without assuming that it is either unlimited or sure to come up in time, is rational. To trust the luck of the Republic, is not rational. When was confidence blinder than at the time at which the rapids were drawing irresistibly towards the gulf of civil war?

There is no denying the ominous character of the last session of Congress, or the sinister significance of the general sense of relief evidently felt at the departure of the assembly which has the destinies of the nation in its trust. The session threw a strong light on the weak points of the American, or Presidential and Congressional system, in contrast with the Parliamentary system of Great Britain. With a responsible Ministry, such as initiates and controls legislation in the British Parliament, Congress could not have become a chaos. The Ministry would have appealed to the allegiance of its supporters, and if, with their votes, it could not control legislation, it would have given way to a government

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which could. We have often occasion to remark that the framers of the American Constitution did not understand the British system of Parliamentary government. The British did not understand it themselves. They were mystified by the forms of a monarchy, and fancied that the government was still in the crown. Nor have they yet got clear of the illusion; they recklessly extend the franchise in the belief that they have a stable government in the crown.

The largeness of the Democratic majority in Congress also contributed to its unruliness. The Republican majority in the next Congress will be liable to the same danger from the same cause. If party government is to work well, the two teams will have to be kept, as in a foot-ball match, pretty equal, or with only a working majority on one side.

On another weak point in the American system a strong light has been thrown by the continuance in session of a House of Representatives after the defeat of its party at the polls. The framers of the Constitution, when they adopted this dovetailing arrangement did not contemplate party, or provide for its action on the legislature. Washington took it for a transient disease, which might be cured by putting Hamilton and Jefferson together into the cabinet. The disadvantages of the arrangement seem now to be acknowledged by all,—yet nobody speaks of a constitutional amendment. The constitution, with its sacred stability, is an inestimable bulwark, especially in stormy times, but its amendment, even when plainly required, is certainly difficult in the extreme. No pressure seems sufficient for the purpose except that which was generated by the Civil War. Even a change of the inauguration day, such as would save the President from riding through snow and sleet, appears to be regarded as practically impossible, because it would involve a constitutional amendment.

Liability to deadlock from the division of the legislative power between two bodies which may at the time be in the hands of opposite parties, is not peculiar to the American polity. It is the general infirmity of the bicameral system when combined with that of party, and must be taken with the advantages of the system in which it inheres.

It must be owned that the American system has, of late, been severely tried. In the midst of a great financial crisis Congress

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was called upon to revolutionize the fiscal and commercial policy of the nation. This, it was said, was necessary as the fulfilment of election pledges. When a surgeon who has set out to perform a dangerous operation, finds the patient in a high fever, though he may have brought his instruments with him, does he not stay his hand? An attack on the whole fiscal system was sure to combine all the protected interests in a desperate defense, and to bring on a conflict by which the financial crisis could hardly fail to be aggravated and prolonged.

The worst part of the matter is the catastrophe of the Senate, to which Englishmen, who feel the necessity of a second chamber as a security for rational conservatism, have of late been pointing as an example. But the fault lies largely in a peculiarity of the American Senate, which English reformers would not reproduce. I mean that provision, a relic of the original jealousy and necessity for a compromise among the independent colonies for the sake of union, which gives Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, Montana and Wyoming, a representation in the Senate equal to that of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

At the same time we have had in the dire influence of the Silver Mine, especially in the Senate, an awful warning of the force which under the system of party government, and when parties are evenly balanced, special interests, disregarding every object but their own, may exert. This evil is growing everywhere, and calls for the earnest consideration of statesmen and of writers on political science.

Another element of critical change which begins to show itself is the disintegration of party. This is sure to ensue when great lines of division, such as that between slavery and free labor no longer exist and sectional or personal tendencies come into free play. In France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and even in England, disintegration and sectionalism have already set in. In France the formation of a stable government has become almost hopeless. The huge see-saw of the last two Congressional elections indicates the existence on a large scale of an unattached vote.

If the sugar trust did half what it is said to have done, the execution of its managers in front of the capitol would be a measure at once salutary and just. When the public conscience succumbs to corruption all is lost. But one who has been long in the United States will be cautious in giving ear to general reports

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of corruption. That it prevails in some of the State legislatures and in the governments of great cities is too evident. But critics, usually severe, say that there are very few members of Congress who would take a bribe. The civil service of the nation is admitted, notwithstanding the dangerous smallness of the salaries, to be pure. Jurymen, in the rougher States, we are told, are sometimes bought, but of the integrity of the judges one hears no complaint. The day of Barnard and Cardozo is long past. On the honor of West Point there is as yet no stain. Presidents seem to have given effect to the Civil Service Act about as far as party necessities would permit. In the intervals between great issues, party organizations can be held together only by workers who must in some way be paid. The root and branch advocates of civil service reform are the Mugwumps, who are outside party, and on whom its necessities do not press. It must be owned, however, that the tendency of the popular government to corruption is a mournful fact. In England, hitherto, Parliament has been a house of gentlemen, fortified against corruption by their wealth. The flagrant corruption of the last century had special causes and ended with the victory of Pitt over the Coalition; though the patronage, which was rich and splendid, including bishoprics, governorships, judicial appointments and peerages, dispensed as a party fund, continued to be a main support of government. That United States Senatorships are bought is freely alleged.

Fraud in elections appears to be too common, and the practice of deciding contested elections by a party vote in Congress, discarded by England more than a century ago, shelters and fosters this great crime.

The Southerners were statesmen after their kind. They held their seats in Congress, so long as they were faithful to Slavery, by a secure tenure and were able, like the British aristocracy, to train themselves and devote their lives to public affairs. They and their party managed, after their fashion, to govern the country. Who, or what is to govern it now, is the question which one hears more often asked than answered. There is a general cry for leadership, but where are the leaders to be found or how are they to be made? In England, under the guise of popular election, we have hitherto had the rule of a wealthy and leisured class. We are now going to try what sort of rule universal suffrage and pay-

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ment of members will give the nation, and not the nation alone, but the Empire.

On the other hand, there has surely been an improvement in the character of the political press, and in its influence on public life. What is behind the press, it is true, is a momentous question, one of the most momentous questions of the day. Among other influences, that of certain nationalities is evidently strong. But in knowledge, literary ability and instructiveness, at all events, the improvement can hardly be denied, and a journal, whether its own morality be sound or not, must always appeal to moral principles and thus confirm public allegiance to them. The multiplication of great journals precludes a monopoly of opinion, though, on the other hand, desperate expedients may be prompted by the increased struggle for circulation.

The beneficial action of the universities on politics by disseminating political knowledge and, still more, perhaps, by diffusing a scientific spirit in opposition to that of faction and passion, is another item on the right side of the account. Only let the universities take care that they do not overpeople themselves. There is a rush into them, owing to the ambitious taste for what are supposed to be the higher callings, such as may some day give birth to an academically educated body of unemployed which will be not only unhappy but dangerous to the State.

The Common Schools are the reputed sheet-anchor of the commonwealth. Does the anchor hold? A remarkable series of reports drawn up by Dr. J. M. Rice after a tour of inspection, and recently published, throws some doubt on the quality of the instruction. The statistics of truancy, also, would lead us to doubt whether the dangerous classes, whose education and civilization are the principal warrant for the assumption of a parental duty by the State, and for the school tax, are really in school. But the most anxious eyes, after all, must be turned to the moral basis of the system. Character is the great object in the training of the citizen as well as in that of the man, and for this the common school system has no visible instrument or motive power beyond the discipline of the school-house which, as frequent suits against the schoolmasters for punishing pupils show, it is sometimes difficult for the teacher unclothed with parental authority to enforce. The one doctrine of a moral or a social kind instilled by the system is the duty of rising in life. We cannot

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all climb over each other's heads, but we can all be made to feel that it is a mistake to be contented with the station in which we are born. The original New England school was religious and, as the group of families was small and closely united, it was probably not unparental. The extensive employment of women as teachers also is said, not without probability, to be unfavorable to the formation of manly character in the boys. These are the roots of the national tree, and they must not be left out of sight in taking account of the political situation.

Complaints are heard of the failure of national spirit, and of the prevalence of local over national interests and aspirations. "We are no longer a nation, we are a set of cabbage grounds and potato plots," was the wail of a patriot, incensed either by the predominance of some local interest in the tariff question, or by the failure of the American Government, under local pressure, to take the part of its own railways against their Canadian enemy. Those who witnessed the intense display of national spirit at the time of the Civil War, must certainly be struck by its comparative languor now. The Canadian question, and the question of Newfoundland, which carries with it the mouth of the St. Lawrence, have come to a head, and been left to settle themselves with as little attention on the part of the American Government and people as though their scene had been the planet Mars. Hawaii has forced itself upon notice, and in that case there has been also the stimulating suspicion of British designs. But the tide of patriotism has its ebbs as well as its flows, and the party of national aspiration is at present out of power. The revival of interest in national objects abroad, when the hour for it arrives, will be salutary as a diversion from the narrowness and bitterness of the war of factions at home.

Municipal corruption is flagrant and apparently desperate enough. But its seat is in great cities. Of the rural municipalities little complaint is heard. The village fund is small; the rural taxpayer is close-fisted and watchful; the business is light, and such as there is no difficulty in finding respectable citizens to undertake; the people know each other and can combine for a good choice. In a great city these conditions are reversed. The fund is very large, and the temptation to stealing great, while there is nobody to keep close watch; the business is very heavy, and leading men will not leave their own avocations to undertake

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it, nor will they willingly throw themselves into the muddy vortex of popular elections; the citizens know nothing of each other and are totally unable to combine for a good choice, so that the elections inevitably fall into the hands of ringsters, who find in municipal politics a regular and lucrative trade. Moreover, the incidence of city taxation is divorced from the control. The few pay the taxes, while the expenditure is at the will of the many, who get much of their small contributions as taxpayers back in the school fee; an arrangement which would soon be fatal to any joint stock corporation. Elective government for American cities is admitted to have failed, and the failure arises apparently from causes inherent in the system, and of which the operation is only suspended for a moment by a spasmodic effort of reform, or the fleeting ascendency of some heaven-sent Mayor. Washington, governed as the federal capital by three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, seems to be the only great city of which the administration is permanently and securely good. Yet there seems little chance of persuading the masses to relinquish their power. In this direction the outlook is not hopeful. The administration of English cities has been cited in favor of government by an elective council. Municipal elections in England have hitherto been treated as party questions; the parties have made the nominations, and have striven to bring out their strongest men. The governing class in England has not yet entirely ceased to govern, nor have the other classes yet entirely ceased to obey. In England municipal office is sought for its dignity, which ranks next below that of national office, no State office or legislature being interposed. Yet those who have watched the career of the new council of London, and noted the character of some of the "progressist" elections, will pause before citing British example as conclusive in favor of Aldermanic government.

Of the financial crisis let financiers speak. Partly it is the local incidence of a universal depression, caused, as some say, by overproduction, though it is difficult to see how mankind can be starved by superfluity of bread. But partly, as all admit, it is the reckoning day of mismanagement, extravagance and fraud. With the eager cupidity excited by a vast and rapid development of natural resources, has been combined the influence of an education of which the grand precept is to grow rich. Profuse expenditure, from Congress with its Pension Arrears Bill, down-

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wards to the private citizen, must also have contributed to the crash. The day of boundless plenty and thoughtless profusion is past, that of frugality has come. I have seen after a large water party all the broken bread, of which there was a great quantity, flung into the water. Perhaps of the distress among the farmers while most is due to the fall in the price of wheat, some may also be due to the rise in the scale of living. Meantime the outward signs of wealth and prosperity to a visitor's eye have not fallen off. Luxury and all its appliances increase; the hotel menu is as prodigal as ever; the watering-places and theatres are full. Railway stock may fall, but the service of the railways maintains its excellence.

At the foundation of the State, as at present constituted, lies the family. The politician, therefore, as well as the domestic moralist, must read with dismay statistics of divorce which show that in one State there is divorce to every eleven marriages. Of all the thunder clouds none is darker or more charged with ruin than this. The responsibility, so far as it is legislative, rests not only on those legislatures which have perilously relaxed the divorce law, but upon jurists who, carried away by the generous desire of emancipating the wife from the domination of the husband, have broken up the legal and economical unity of the family. To preserve its integrity the family needs a headship. The necessity may be unwelcome, and to the nihilist or anarchist most odious, but it seems to be the fiat of nature.

Of the race problem in the South there is as yet no solution, nor apparently can there be any, since intermarriage, the indispensable guarantee for equality, social or political, is out of the question. Without a solution, however, there may be a compromise or *modus vivendi*, if the inferior race will accept personal and industrial right without political power, and if the white will renounce lynching and give the black man the full protection of the law. The lynching has been most horrible, most heart-rending, most dishonorable to American civilization.

On the other hand, the solid South is manifestly beginning to break up, and the political danger arising from Southern union and isolation is in a fair way to disappear. The introduction of manufactures, like all economical changes, has brought political change in its train, and the fiscal policy of the Republican party gains ground in the realm of Calhoun.

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These are subjects of anxiety more or less peculiar to the United States. So is the danger from foreign immigration, the reality of which every labor conspiracy and every riot shows, the violence on these occasions being mainly foreign. The policy of restriction naturally prevails, and presents a curious contrast to the rapturous welcome which only a quarter of a century ago America was extending, as the asylum of nations, to the suffering and oppressed of all lands. Yet, while reasonable restrictions are imposed, it must be borne in mind that American civilization rests on manual labor, and that the native American will not carry the hod, shovel the earth for the railroad, or work in the mine. Canada will bring a strong reinforcement to the original element if she ever comes into the Union.

But steam and electricity have made the world one. America shares, with other industrial countries, the disturbances and dangers arising from the perennial and now intensified conflict between labor and capital. Yet she is on the whole less threatened than England. Her mechanics are, as a rule, better instructed than the English mechanics, and therefore less open to delusion. They have probably spent more of their wages in the improvement of their condition, especially in the matter of house-owning, and less in meat, drink and tobacco. Nor are they collected in inflammable masses to the same extent as the mechanics in the North of England. The social line between employer and employed being not so sharp in the democratic as in the aristocratic country, there is less of social bitterness in their antagonism. The American area, also, is too vast for all-embracing organizations, as the history of the Knights of Labor shows. Mr. Burns, a first-rate authority on the subject, after a visit to America, denounces it in the robust language of "Labor" as a far worse field for the industrial agitator than his own country. To this view I adhere even after the Chicago riot. The quarrel there seems to have been rather between the Pullman Company, as landlords, and their tenants, than between employer and employed. The disturbance loomed so large because, taking place at a great railway centre, it caused widespread inconvenience and loss. It was followed, after the first moment of bewilderment, by a national reaction which sustained the President in his vigorous course of repression. Its moral seems to be the need of a regular army strong enough to assure the ascendency of law over disorder,

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everywhere and at any moment, in a country which is always receiving elements of turbulence and lawlessness from half-civilized provinces in Europe. A militia is a bad instrument of repression. It is a gun, which either goes off too soon or will not go off at all. Even for the purpose of external defense the United States can hardly afford to be unarmed. China and Japan may, in time, threaten the Pacific coast, and the people of the South American republics, however they may fail politically, keep up their military habits and force.

The socialistic movement against property, which is assuming formidable dimensions in Europe, has not failed to extend itself to the United States. But American socialism is mainly imported, though the faith has found a native prophet in Mr. Henry George, at the meetings of whose disciples, not only agrarian but general confiscation, and war against wealth of all kinds, fill the air. Property, or the hope of property, is as yet more widely diffused here than in old countries. The freehold farmer of the United States is not like the farm laborer in England craving for three acres and a cow, nor is he likely to listen with favor to schemes of agrarian plunder. Still, there is in America a party, and probably a growing party, of socialistic confiscation. The income tax is hailed by that party as the earnest of a more extensive application of political force to the spoliation of the few by the many, which is now the demagogue's grand lure. It is this use of political power for the purpose of confiscation—not more moral surely than if the spoilers' weapon were the revolver instead of the ballot—that is the thing really to be feared. Utopian speculations and visions, the offspring of impatient broodings over the defects of the social system and the cruel inequalities of the human lot, may be dismissed with a sympathetic smile. No serious plan for the reorganization of society on socialistic principles has yet been propounded. Until this is done, the reveries of fancy can alarm, if at all, only as the rainbow over the waterfall which marks the plunge of the torrent beneath.

Akin to the last mentioned question is that of the Unemployed, of men who are seeking for work and cannot find it. The number of these, it is to be feared, is increasing, apart from the accidents of the seasons, even on this continent, and in spite of all restrictions on immigration. The cause usually assigned

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is the discharge of hands, owing to the increased use of machinery on the farm as well as in the factory, to which, perhaps, may be added the influx of women into employments hitherto assigned to men. But it is useless to deny that there is truth, though there may also be overstatement or disregard of necessary qualifications, in the Malthusian theory. Malthus persists in returning from "the moon," to which by philanthropists he has been complacently "banished." There is, after all, a tendency in man, in the absence of prudential restriction on marriage, or a check of some kind, such as tribal wars, on the growth of population, to multiply beyond the means of subsistence. In Hindoostan the peace of the British Empire has put an end to the wars which before decimated the people, and no other check having been imposed, the result is overgrowth of population, with a lowering of the condition of the ryot. Yet social demagogues are telling the people that they may fearlessly multiply, and even that the more there are of them on a given area the better they will be fed; as though the productive powers of nature were unlimited, and the fruits of the earth would increase in proportion to the number of hands employed.

To me, it has throughout seemed that, beneath all the social and political ferment, with which the age is rife, lies the disturbance, by the progress of religious scepticism, of the beliefs by which the social system and social morality have hitherto been upheld. Men are ceasing to believe that the existing state of things, with all its inequalities, is the ordinance of God, rebellion against which would be at once impious and fruitless, or to look forward to compensation in a future world for those whose lot is hard in this. They are beginning to say that the existing state of things and the uneven distribution of wealth, instead of being the ordinance of God, are the artifice of the rich, and that they mean no longer to be put off to a future life, but to grasp their share of good things in the present. For that purpose the masses are learning to use the political power which has newly come into their hands. Social morality itself, even the prohibition of stealing, rests not upon a very assignable basis when the religious sanction has been withdrawn. America partakes of this disintegration of fundamental belief with Europe, but not in the same degree. She is less heterodox, for the very reason that she has been less orthodox, and because, having no State Church, she has

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nothing to chafe dissent and scepticism to violence. Nor has religion in her case been exposed to popular suspicion by reason of its connection with tithes. Orthodox Christianity here slides by a tranquil process into Christian theism. Reverence, though diminished, is not lost, nor would American opinion tolerate such publications as the comic Life of Christ, which I found in an anti-clerical bookstore at Paris. Still, Colonel Ingersoll lectures to large and sympathetic audiences. Religious doubt unquestionably gains ground. In church after church, clerical heresy is brought to the bar. There will be a serious danger to society if a body so numerous and powerful as the clergy should, through the advance of scepticism, find their ministrations discarded and their means of subsistence withdrawn. Some of them might be tempted, especially if they were unmarried, as the Catholic clergy are, to find a new basis in preaching the social revolution. We have had premonitions of something of that kind.

In the United States, as elsewhere, these are critical times for society. To say that they are dangerous times would, perhaps, be to betray a lack of faith in the goal towards which humanity is marching. They are, at all events, not times for the invidious ostentation of wealth, for Diamond Queens, for shoddy travesties of royal marriages, or for building gaudy palaces at extravagant cost. They are not times for squandering the riches, produced by American industry, in the pleasure cities of Europe. Wealth must henceforth learn to find its justification and guaranty not in any superhuman authority, but in its demonstrable usefulness to mankind. Nor is this necessity an evil to the possessors. What can be baser or more miserable than to live a mere burden on the community, in luxury, fed by the sweat of other men's brows? America has millionaires who nobly show that such is their feeling. She has others who do not.

In America, as in England, and in the other colonies of England—all of which seem to be attacked at once by a sort of disease which might be scientifically labelled gynæmania—the restlessness of the age has extended to the domain of sex. Some women are longing to break through the established limitations of womanhood, while they show an inclination to disparage what have hitherto been considered at once the natural duties and glories of woman. They are now seeking to grasp political power, which in their hands would be divorced from responsibility, since

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the burden and duty of upholding and safeguarding the State must ever remain where Nature has put them—in the man. As yet, only two far Western states have adopted woman suffrage in its full political form. It has suffered some defeats in other quarters, and was rejected by the Constitutional Convention of New York. On that occasion the opposition to it included a large and distinguished body of women, who thought that they foresaw the ultimate consequences to their sex of an attempt to remove the landmarks of nature. But this is an age of feeble and precipitate abdication, when the holders of authority, instead of considering how it may be better used, surrender it upon the first challenge. There is no saying what the bosses of party may do as soon as they see, or fancy that they see, the shadow of a coming female vote, though the consequence might be the swamping of their organizations. The press also may fear, by opposing the demand of the suffragists, to risk the loss of female patronage. When the full tide of female emotion shall be added to the political vortex, when women shall have become political, when the female demagogue with her platform shall be fully developed, the final trial of popular government will be near. No guides can be less safe than the democracies of Australasia, which are made adventurous not only by the heyday of youth, but by the fancied securities of imperial tutelage, while, living in an ocean by themselves, they feel that they have nothing to fear from the emasculation of their councils, and the weakening of their capacity for self-defence. That they are altogether in a highly experimental stage of existence is shown by the financial crashes and industrial convulsions which, notwithstanding their vaunted system of State socialism, they have recently undergone.

The next issue, my friends say, is Silver, at which some of them quake; not without reason, if the change involves a disturbance of the standard. Just after the war I was one of a party at dinner in England when several men of mark were present, and I was the only man at the table who maintained that the American people would pay their debt in specie. Waiving the question of their morality, I relied on their regard for their credit. The Silver party seems to be made up of different sections not united in their object. There are the scientific bimetallists, sincerely convinced that it is possible for governments to fix the ratio of value between two commodities, and that the change would be

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beneficial to all. There are the owners of silver mines, whose object needs not to be defined. But there is also Greenbackism, or something like it, coming to life again under another name. These sections will find it difficult to agree in a platform. The movement probably derives encouragement from the vacillation of the British government. That vacillation is purely political. There appears to be an embryo party in England, the offspring of distress among the farmers, corresponding in some measure to that of the Grangers here, which is disposed to seek relief in Bimetallism as well as in Protection ; and this party has votes. On the Conservative side Mr. Balfour dallies with Bimetallism, he also having, it may safely be said, a political object. The members of the Anglo-Indian service whose interest has played an important part in the question upon the British field are not Bimetallists. They only want a rectification of their own salaries which, being paid in silver, have been cruelly reduced by depreciation. The number of scientific bimetallists in England is small, though among them is Mr. Grenfell.

What will henceforth be the dividing line of American parties it is hard to say. President Cleveland is already almost out of party, and his Presidency rather "a condition" than "a theory." With the election of a Democratic President, and the abandonment of the Force Bill, the war issues died, and appeals to war sentiment ceased to tell. An attempt to return to the McKinley tariff would renew the conflict between protection and free trade, but it seems unlikely from the general indications of opinion that such an attempt will be made. Commerce, above all things, wants certainty and peace. The Republican party is, in the main, the party of national aspiration and extension, to which its rival shows itself indifferent, and it may draw a new life from that source. But, if the great social movements now on foot continue to advance, the time must come when there will be a profound division between the party of State socialism and that of property and freedom. In that event, the party of State socialism will probably be formed chiefly of the elements of which the Democratic party is now composed, Jeffersonian tradition notwithstanding, while the present elements of the Republican party will be found chiefly on the side of property and freedom.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

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RUSSIA AND ENGLAND.

BY PROFESSOR ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.

IT is an ungrateful task I have taken upon myself in trying to prove that the present *rapprochement* between England and Russia in Asia is based upon a great fallacy, and that the ultimate result of such an agreement must prove detrimental to the vital interests of Great Britain in the East.

I am well aware of the fact that by enunciating such an opinion I shall incur the disapproval and the displeasure of many of my friends in England. I shall be called an incorrigible alarmist. I am exceedingly sorry to expose myself to such unpleasant criticism, but I cannot on that account alter my conclusion, for the more I reflect upon the facts on which my judgment is based, the more I am convinced of the plausibility of my views. Peace between England and Russia in Asia is certainly a prospect which may well excite the ecstacies of the friends of civilization in the East. But it may be asked : Does the history of nations furnish an instance of two ambitious and expansive powers, which have been strongly antagonistic to each other, suddenly arresting their activity on the pretext that they have reached the goal of their desire, and changing relations of suspicious rivalry into those of amity and friendship ? History does not belie itself, and what cannot be expected from single individuals, is scarcely feasible in the mutual relations of two large nations. As to England, there is no doubt that in certain portions of her outlying colonies and possessions she has already rounded off her frontiers and has become decidedly stationary. Such is the case, for instance, with northwestern India, where England follows a strictly defensive policy without the shadow of ulterior designs, whereas the situation is entirely different in the east and northeast of Hindustan, considering the ill-defined frontier in Nepaul, Burma, and in the

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north of Cashmere. As to Russia, I do not see any point along her whole frontier line from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea where she has reached a definitive basis and met the solid resistance of another well-organized State. I certainly shall not come forward as an advocate of Russian aggression in Asia, but I cannot help saying that the southern frontier of her gigantic empire is, up to the present, far from being well defined, and that it can hardly be presumed that she will stop half way on the road to her long-cherished goal.

It follows, therefore, that Russia cannot and will not arrest her march southwards. She is compelled to continue it by historical and economical reasons. The growth and expansion of the former Duchy of Moscow into the present gigantic empire is the result of a similar process, namely, the gradual absorption of the neighboring districts of Kazan, Astrakhan, and encroachments upon the possessions of Turks, Mongols, Persians, Georgians, Uzbegs, etc. One piece having been duly digested, hunger awoke afresh, and another one was devoured. It is possible that the latest morsel swallowed in Central Asia, being of a tough substance, will not be so easily digested, and that not being tormented for a time by her usual earth hunger, Russia will take a rest. But can such a state of things be reasonably called a definite renunciation of a policy of aggression, and can one expect that henceforward Russian encroachment will never be heard of more? I really envy those who can find delight in such a dream. I cannot. Wherever I examine the Russian frontier in the south of Asia, I find the northern giant constantly moving forward; in fact, ever ready for aggrandizement and increase of power.

To begin with the Ottoman empire. Optimistic politicians might well argue that the forbearance and self-restraint exhibited by Russia in her relations with Bulgaria may be taken as an infallible sign of repudiation of her ancient aggressive policy against Turkey. It does not require particular sagacity, however, to find out that the grapes are here too sour, and that the Russian bear, unwilling to set his teeth on edge, is simply waiting for a better opportunity to pluck the fruit of his former labors. Involuntarily brought to a standstill in European Turkey, Russia is all the more active in the Asiatic portion of the dominion of the Sultan, for only the intentionally blind will fail to see

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the agitation carried on along the whole frontier from Batum to Bayazid by her secret and public agents; an agitation spreading all over Asia Minor and extending far into the Arabian desert. Of the Russian influence over the unruly and adventurous Kurds it is needless to speak, as it is an open secret that most of the leading chiefs entertain friendly relations with the frontier officials, and that it was upon the allurements of the Governor General at Tiflis that the grandson of the famous Bedr Khan Bey escaped to Erivan, after having failed in his seditious anti-Turkish movements. Luckily for the politicians at St. Petersburg, the most effective assistance they are favored with comes, in most cases, from England, where, as at the present time, ill-defined humanitarian purposes have raised an outcry against the so-called "Armenian Atrocities," helping, as usual, to bring Russian plans to maturity. Nobody can ignore Turkish misrule in the outlying districts of Asia Minor, nor would it be advisable to conceal the danger and constant trouble arising from the contact between semi-nomads, like the Kurds, and an industrious agricultural population, like the Armenians. In the present case we have before us a quiet and peaceful Christian community, instigated by heartless political adventurers to rebellion. Can it be wondered at that the Mohammedan authorities, well aware of the constant plots and machinations which undermine their rule in several provinces, have ultimately lost patience and that they have tried to uproot the evil by means adapted to the local circumstances, but revolting to our Western notions? Let us be just, and let us look at the measures taken by humanitarian Christian governments on similar occasions. In suppressing the Sepoy revolution in India, and in inflicting condign punishment on the rebels, England was, certainly against her own will, not always actuated by special feelings of humanity. No clemency was shown after 1849 in Hungary, where women were flogged, young children incarcerated and hundreds handed over to the executioner. In Russia we saw the late peace-loving Czar driving thousands of his fellow creatures into misery and destruction, not for rebelling against his rule, but simply for venturing to persevere in the religion of their fathers. As I say let us be just, and let us not pass a verdict before having heard the accused as well as the plaintiff.

Of course, as matters stand to-day, the politicians on the Neva

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have but reluctantly joined England in the new crusade, and unwilling to spoil their good relations with the Porte they are so to say dragged into the controversy. Nor does the ecclesiastical party of Russian Armenians show particular zeal in the support of their brethren in Turkey, for they detect a Protestant spirit in the whole movement, and Protestantism is in their eyes more baneful than Islamism. But there is no misgiving about the fact that the excitement now prevailing in England will ripen the fruit for Russia. Whatever turn the new situation takes in Armenia, Russia will find a plain path across northern Anatolia into Mesopotamia, and the long projected progress towards the South will be greatly facilitated. Judging from recent utterances of the English press, one might think that such an eventuality is much desired by a certain class of politicians, for a paper published in the *Saturday Review*, Dec. 8, 1894, entitled, "Shall We Help Russia Southwards?" very clearly invites the Northern colossus to sweep down, to take Constantinople and to finish with the Turk; for, says the author, "if we give Russia room to expand southwards to the sea, we may relieve the pressure in Asia to an extent that would amply compensate for our concessions." Speculations of this kind are happily not shared by politicians of sound judgment, for if this keynote be struck England might as well hand over at once Persia and Afghanistan to Russia, and she might remove all the obstacles in the way of her rival, in order to secure the possession of India.

However weak and tottering, the existing Mohammedan states will always form a bulwark against Russian designs of aggression, for they must retard and render difficult the execution of her plans, which are not at all desirable for the welfare of Great Britain in Asia. If this is true of the Ottoman Empire, it is even more so of Persia. Russia is already paramount in the political, commercial and social relations of northern Persia, from Khoi to Sarakhs, without a corresponding English counterpoise in the southern half of the country. Can one be so naïve as to imagine that the politicians at St. Petersburg will put a stop to the policy pursued two centuries ago, and that they will invite the English to a brotherly division of the two spheres of action? As long as the present Shah lives the balance might be kept in tolerable order at the Court of Teheran. The ability of Sir Mortimer Durand may contrive to establish the much-desired equi-

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librium, but even then it would be hard to frustrate all those minor concessions extorted from the Shah, which, insignificant though they may seem, confirm the constantly increasing superiority of Russia over England there. The older the Shah grows the more he inclines toward the north, as to the party of which he is most afraid; and as it is to be feared that he will continue to do so in spite of his policy of strict neutrality, it is really difficult to discover the ways and means which will and can lead to an amicable understanding and a lasting agreement between the two rival powers in Persia.

As to Central Asia, I dare say that even the staunchest adherent to optimism and the most firm believer in Russian promises will have to acknowledge the sheer impossibility of a solid and reliable agreement between the two contending powers in Afghanistan. In the first instance we have to put the question: If the Russian schemes do not harbor any mischief against India, what need was there of tampering with the country beyond the Oxus? And secondly: If Afghanistan is to remain outside the sphere of Russian influence, why did Russia annex Kerki and Kilif, what necessity was there for the strenuous efforts to get near Herat? And last, but not least: What in the world might have induced the politicians on the Neva to undertake the expensive and troublesome *détour* on the Pamirs? Only childish credulity will be deceived by the Russian pretext that all this was necessitated by England's erecting the so-called "scientific frontier," and that the whole Russian movement southward is consequently nothing but a defensive measure against an eventual attack of England. It is but the intentionally blind who will fail to see that even the most rabid Jingo had never the idea of aggression in Russian Turkestan, and that, on the contrary, every sober-minded politician, at home as well as in India, had no other desire but to strengthen the frontier toward Afghanistan and not to erect a stepping-stone for further conquests. As matters stand to-day, the same could hardly be said of the attitude of Russia along the whole frontier, extending from Zulfikar to Bosaga, and thence along the upper Oxus to the Little Pamir, where the tendency of a forward movement towards the south is too clear and unmistakable to escape the attention of the unbiased spectator. Of course, in Russian official circles it is constantly denied that this object is

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kept in view. They say that the mainspring of Russian policy in that part of the world is merely and exclusively of an economic nature, and that they must fulfill the civilizing duty imposed upon every settled community which is brought in contact with uncivilized and nomadic elements. Unfortunately for Great Britain, it is mostly in England that these subterfuges find most believers, and from this point of view the long series of Russian aggressions has been looked upon as natural and justified by circumstances. But what explanation is to be found for the incessant ogling of Russian frontier officers with the malcontent subjects of the Amir of Afghanistan? What reason can be given for the dealings of Snombtcheffski with Huna-Najar? What means the hospitality accorded to Tshak Tshan and his followers, and to what purpose were the exploits of General Youoff?

Let us be frank, and let us state, once for all, that the present position of Russia in Central Asia entirely excludes the possibility of a peaceful arrangement with England, for it is openly directed against the vital interests of the last named country; and if a verbal or written agreement has been made, it will turn out, under the most favorable circumstances, to be only a truce, which Russia will utilize to complete her means of offense, to clear away certain obstacles, and to undermine quietly that very ground upon which her rival dreams of having acquired a firm footing and a safe standpoint against future complications.

"Lo, the incorrigible pessimist, the inveterate unbeliever in Russian sincerity!" most of my readers will say. Well, I must admit that I shall deserve this title as long as the truth of the Oriental saying, "Ten dervishes have room on one carpet, but not two kings in one country!" remains unrefuted; and as long as I see the Russian exchequer paying millions of hard roubles to cover the deficit incurred by the administration of the Turkestan provinces of the Czar. Our age is not naïve enough to believe in the disinterestedness of civilizing agencies.

It would be the greatest self-delusion to imagine that Russia will spend millions only for the sake of the welfare of Kenghises, Tajiks, Tarts and Uzbegs, and with no regard to the profit she may derive from her work among them. The wealth of the soil of Central Asia is certainly much greater than hitherto estimated, but taking into account even the speediest development, it can hardly be expected that it will ever meet the costs of the

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civil and military administration of the country. We must not be deceived by statistics about the rapid rise of Russian trade in Turkestan, for Russian commercial enterprise consists chiefly of retail-trade, and cannot be compared with the commercial operations of Great Britain in her Asiatic possessions. Even the high-sounding reports about cotton, the staple material export into Russia, must be taken *cum grano salis*, for admitting that this produce has greatly assisted the Russian mills, we cannot believe that it will in future beat the American and Egyptian market, as has been generally reported. The same remark can be applied to other items of Central-Asian produce, and we must conclude that Central Asia is only an *étape* on the road to further conquests, or as a means to be used to produce pressure for the furtherance of schemes laid out somewhere else.

It is from the consideration of such an eventuality that the opinion is gaining ground amongst a certain class of politicians in England that it would be much wiser and more conducive to the welfare of the country if the *causa litis*, England's opposition to Russia on the Bosphorus, were removed at once, and if it could be agreed upon that Russia be allowed to have her own way in Turkey upon condition that she must not approach our Indian frontiers, and that she must renounce further schemes in Central Asia. But such a hope is a delusion. Russia will not swerve, even by a hair's breadth, from her long-conceived plans, and the greater the concessions which are made to her the more quickly and the more easily will she march towards the goal of her desire.

It is a sheer impossibility that Russia's policy in Asia should have taken such a turn. It is easy to understand how such a consummation is much desired in England, where a higher degree of civilization very justly abhors all complications leading to warfare, and where an appeal to arms is resorted to only in utmost necessity. It is this desire which has made the English statesmen shut their eyes to many facts which might have been judged differently by leaders less solicitous for peace. I do not know whether it has been duly considered that, during the reign of the late peace-loving Czar, the Russian outposts have advanced hundreds of miles towards the frontiers of India without causing serious apprehensions to the rulers on the Hooghli and on the Thames? It may well be asked whether this policy of the late peace-loving Czar will not be repeated and imitated by his

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peace-loving successor, and whether despite all agreements between London and St. Petersburg English credulity and good faith will not again be deceived by the accomplished fact of fresh Russian conquests. Nobody will doubt that it would be the greatest boon to humanity in general if a good understanding could be established and cemented between England and Russia. It would be a worthy crown to the efforts of the nineteenth century, for the existing rivalry between the two mighty standard-bearers of our modern civilization in Asia constitutes the greatest hindrance to the progress of mankind. But we ought to see clearly the way leading to the realization of this sublime idea, and we ought not to rely on empty words and promises, the shallowness of which must unavoidably strike every student of the politics of Central Asia and every unbiased observer of Russian doings in the East. The ardent desire of Englishmen alone is neither sufficient nor strong enough to contradict the logic of history and to remove difficulties which are deeply rooted in the natural consequences of political exigencies. An agreement might have been possible between Rome and Carthage, but it is hardly feasible between England and Russia.

The recent rumor of an understanding between London and St. Petersburg, for positive news is still lacking, has not been particularly useful to the *prestige* of Great Britain abroad. There are, to begin with, very few serious politicians who believe in the feasibility of the scheme; whereas, many others are apt to judge this marked anxiety for peace in a light rather unfavorable to England. The constant readiness of England to avoid complications by yielding too frequently to her rivals and by trying agreements with most of her adversaries, must sooner or later create the suspicion of hidden weakness and of defective means of an energetic defense. More than three decades ago we find England giving in to her rivals in various parts of the world. England has yielded to Germany in Africa; to France in Siam and in Madagascar; to Russia on the Murghab, on the Heri-rud, on the Pamirs, and in many other places; nay, even to China, to this recently pricked bubble of imposture, on the frontiers of Tibet. Are we not justified in asking: Will it be taken as a sign of strength, if it is ascertained that England is anxious to divide peaceably the Asiatic spoil with her Russian adversary in spite of the sheer impossibility of the realization of such a desire?

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Certainly not. I dare say people will argue: If England yields everywhere and to everybody, then she may be freely attacked, for she is wanting in backbone, and complications will certainly increase. And besides is there any palpable reason why the British nation, so rich in vitality, so famous for the patriotism, stability and perseverance of her sons, and so glorious for the noble work done hitherto in many parts of the world, should show pusillanimity and sue for peace at the door of a rival immensely inferior to her? I cannot remain indifferent on noticing the outburst of joy and satisfaction in the English press, whilst the Russian papers have shown the greatest reserve, nay coolness, in relation to the news of an established agreement with England.

Peace, heavenly peace, is undoubtedly the most sublime and the most blessed gift to Humanity, but it ought not to rest on the airy base of illusions, and still less on the sand-drift of Russian promises. It is particularly the British public, noted for their strong optimistic tendencies and for their unaccountable indifference and carelessness as to foreign politics, that must be earnestly warned against the idle hopes which the news of an agreement between England and Russia in Asia are sure to engender, and have already engendered, I am sorry to say, in many quarters.

A. VAMBÉRY.

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DIPLOMACY AND THE NEWSPAPER.

BY E. L. GODKIN.

I AM asked by the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to say what I think about the influence of the American press in the fomentation of international strife and ill feeling. This influence is exerted in two ways, on diplomacy and on popular thought.

I must at the outset, however, guard myself against the supposition that my remarks will apply to the press as a whole. Luckily, there is a considerable number of newspapers edited by serious men who have a sense of responsibility for their utterances, and who address themselves to the more intelligent portion of the community. It is they who in times of excitement generally have the last word, and express the sober second thought of the public. But most of what I say will apply to the papers with largest circulation, to which large circulation is the chief end of existence, and which are ready to take any line on topics of the day that seems likely to increase it. No proper estimate of the strength of their influence on the settlement of international questions can be made without taking into account the difference between our machinery of intercourse with foreign nations and that of Europe. We have no diplomatic service properly so-called, for much the same reason that we have no standing army or large navy. That is, our situation differs from that of the powers of the old world in having no formidable neighbors, in running no risk of conquest or humiliation, or of serious disputes about territory or influence. We are not, in short, in immediate contact with anybody who is likely to want to quarrel with us, or gainsay our wishes. This, in the early part of the century, was considered a piece of very good fortune, as it seemed likely to enable us to cultivate with

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greater success the art of government, with the art of quarreling, which has absorbed so much of the talent and attention of the human race, left out. Considering the great absorption of human resources in this business of quarreling, from the earliest ages, and the frightful drag on human progress which it has created, the geographical isolation of the United States was very reasonably looked on at one time as a great blessing. It removed the element most likely to disturb the experiment of purely democratic government made on this continent for the first time. But to it, one cannot help thinking, we owe the popular indifference to the character and training of our representatives abroad, and the selection of them without any special reference to their fitness for their duties. Their functions being likely to prove unimportant, they have generally been appointed with regard solely to their rôle in home politics, and one is bound to acknowledge that from this no great mischief has resulted. It has brought considerable ridicule on us. It has given foreigners a low idea of our social culture, and of the national standards of efficiency, but it has not in any marked case involved us in international difficulties.

But a new school of thought on this matter has sprung up among us within a few years, composed largely of naval officers, and Republican politicians of greater or less standing, who are known by the general name of "Jingoes," and are profoundly dissatisfied with this isolation. They wish to bring the United States into contact with considerable foreign powers at as many points as possible, and failing the possibility of this on this continent, to advocate the annexation of islands, some of them at great distances from our coasts, like Hawaii, and Samoa, and Cuba, and the West Indies generally, and the acquisition of interests on foreign soil, like the Nicaragua Canal, the joint use of which other powers would probably claim. They admit the probability of frequent quarrels arising out of this contact, by asking at the same time for a very large increase of the navy to carry on the wars which it would probably cause, and to which they seem to look forward with a certain exultation. Moreover, they seem to treat even the extension of our commerce as a military operation. The mere sale of our goods to foreigners, is to incline them to fight us. These expectations, too, are accompanied with much growth of suspicion of foreign powers. These powers

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are represented, especially Great Britain, as watching us with extreme jealousy, and as incessantly devising plans either for evading the Monroe doctrine, or for keeping us out of the Pacific Ocean, or for obtaining control of the Nicaragua Canal. Most of the expressions of this policy can only be met with ridicule. But ridicule can only be effective among those who have some knowledge of foreign nations and of foreign ideas. It is difficult, for instance, to ridicule it effectively to the population of the Mississippi Valley who know nothing of Europe or Europeans, except what they get from the newspapers, and to whom it seems most rational, human and likely, that the European monarchies should try to prevent the expansion of the United States, partly through jealousy and partly through greed. The advocates of it, too, very cleverly ignore all the arguments against it, and by repeating their assertions, give them finally the air of accepted facts.

Should this sect be successful in getting their ideas embodied in our foreign policy, we shall, of course, have to adapt ourselves to the situation, and provide ourselves with the instruments of intercourse suited to our new relations with foreign powers. We cannot any longer fill our legations and consulates, with the waifs and strays of our political contests, the invalids, the broken men, the reformed drunkards, the unknown colonels, and the Mississippi editors, who now represent us. If we are to become a fighting people we must have trained regulars, who understand the diplomatic art, as the other fighting peoples practise it.

Now, what is this art? Well, it is very simple. It may be said with at least a close approach to accuracy, that ever since the Middle Ages, the intercourse of the civilized powers of the world has been modelled on the duelling code, and the diplomatists play very much the part of the seconds. Since the French Revolution, the growth of democracy and, above all, of the habit of discussion, which is inseparable from democracy, have introduced into diplomatic intercourse, a considerable increase of debate, much of it intended for the popular ear. But in its main features the treatment of any question which may lead to a rupture or quarrel, is a copy of that of the seconds who are charged with the duty of obtaining "satisfaction" for a supposed insult or slight. There is the same studied politeness of form, the same assumption that if any wrong has been done it will be rectified without further trouble; the same care in ascer-

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taining whether the offender or his servants really said, or did, the thing complained of, whether it meant what it appeared to mean, whether he stands by it, or can explain it away, and so on. All abuse, or invective, or threats or boasts, or suggestion of bad motives or bad character, all attempts to hurry the *denouement*, and all allusions to possible settlement by force, are carefully barred out. I do not mean to say, by any means, that all diplomatic correspondence is free from these things. What I mean is, that every skilled diplomatist endeavors to work on these lines, that this is the theory of the profession, and that the diplomatist who disregards it, is what is in athletics called a "duffer."

But not only are these methods modelled on those of the dueling code, but they are those which are prescribed by the growth of civilization. In truth, it may be said that the growth of civilization or of culture, among a people or a class, may be measured by its mode of settling disputes. In the lowest stages, among savages, or Calabrian peasants, or Arizona miners, the misunderstood jest, or the insulting word, is promptly punished by the knife or the pistol. There is no debate, no opportunity for explanation or retraction. In fact, the readiness to fight of the mass of mankind is one of the oddest and saddest facts in human history. A North Carolinian farmer the other day, hearing from a New York sportsman of the crowds who walked up and down Broadway, asked "how they were kept from fightin'?" "If as many people as that," said he, "were walkin' on the road here, they'd all fall to fightin'." Readiness to fight without discussion is, in fact, all over the world the most evident mark, except dirt, of a low civilization. As a community or a class rises in civilization, it tends more and more to discuss matters of difference, to improve its forms of discussion, and to make peaceful settlement easy, by the use of polite phrases and the absence of threats and abuse. In all this people follow human nature. The very object of a dispute with any one is to get from him what you want with the least possible trouble, and the less you wound his self-love the more likely he is to yield. This art of getting what you want without quarreling is, in fact, known as "diplomacy" in common parlance.

Now, the unorganized and untrained character of our diplomatists has not, as we have said, resulted in much mischief

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hitherto, because of our geographical isolation from the other great Powers, and because, therefore, the great Powers have generally agreed to treat us as mere amateurs who were not to be held accountable for our language. The American Minister is nowhere abroad considered a real member of the diplomatic corps. His mistakes, therefore, do not count. His indiscretions excite amusement or sympathy. He is understood to be a politician, with home interests which are much more important to him than his diplomatic interests. He is not supposed, really, to wish to quarrel with anybody. If the blood of an English, a Russian, a French ex-Cabinet Minister, had "boiled" as Mr. W. C. Whitney's is said to have done at Naples the other day, over the Spanish shots fired at the *Allianga*, it would have sent a thrill over Europe. He would have been supposed to have weighed his words, and to have been acting under inspiration. In the case of an American, such a statement excites hilarity simply. But if our Jingoes have their way, this irresponsibility will pass away. The words of our public men will begin to be listened to as indicative of a policy of some kind, and when disputes arise, the fierce language will be taken, not as a means of winning votes for a party, but of a desire to fight. If we had a large navy such declarations as Mr. Frye's, for instance, that he would like to seize Cuba by conquest, simply because we wanted it, would probably lead to negotiations for a European combination against us. A power which openly avowed that might made right, and that it meant to seize whatever it desired, without regard to morality or international law, would certainly, if strong enough to make its threats seem serious, be met by the same sort of resistance which was offered to Charles V., Louis XIV., and Napoleon I. There is considerable looseness in what is called international law, and violation of its obligations by great States is not uncommon; but in no instance has the world put up with the pretensions of a Power which said openly that it would do as it pleased. Some sort of alliance for resistance to it, for its compulsory entrance into the family of nations, and for its subjection to the common rules of morality, is sure to arise. Civilized mankind has never submitted longer than it could help to an unmoral Power, that is, to a Power which made its own will its only law. It is in pushing us towards some such crisis that the newspaper press be-

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comes dangerous. I do not believe it has much direct influence on the mind of any politician. He does not weigh its arguments, and, in fact, secretly despises it. What renders it formidable to him is what renders it formidable to most men, and especially timid men, that is the belief, that it influences other people.

Most men, for instance, who wince under newspaper attacks or ridicule, do not really care much about it as addressed to themselves. If addressed to a public man by the editor in person, or in a private letter, it would in the majority of cases, simply amuse him. It is the supposed effect on other people which gives them sting or makes them grateful. Politicians especially labor under this delusion. To them, the people, or a considerable portion of them, believe everything they see in the newspaper, or at all events agree with it, and when the statesman is bearding Great Britain, or proposing to wipe Spain out of existence, editorial approval is sweet and encouraging. The newspapers, too, have the strongest possible motive for approving hostile demonstrations. They are, as they often openly avow, enterprises for making money, and they find money very hard to make. They rely mostly on large sales for profits, and for large sales on sensational news. Now, nothing does so much to keep sensational news coming in over considerable periods of time, as war. Our war was, in fact, the halcyon period of newspaper literature as regarded pecuniary returns. Many previously struggling journals made fortunes for their proprietors between 1860 and 1866. The sales and the rush of advertising caused by the rise of prices and the inflation of the currency, gave newspaper publishers the happiest days they have ever known in America. Since then the decline has been steady and serious. In New York the number of newspapers which pay dividends is wretchedly small. The competition among the sensational kind is very great. Some barely exist, or they rely on some capitalist to fill up the yearly deficit. The watch which they all keep up for something startling in the way of news is painful in its eagerness. War would, therefore, be a godsend to them. It would renew the rage for "extras," which attended the varying fortunes of our civil conflict. It would raise hundreds of journals out of want and anxiety, and, next to war, they welcome "the promise of war," with which Byron's tambourgi gave "hope to

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the valiant." Hence every incident which can by any possibility lead to an international conflict is greatly magnified. Every blunder of a subordinate is attributed to the direct orders of a superior, and is converted into a deliberate insult. All foreign statesmen are made to plot against the United States, and concoct schemes for depriving us of something, or in some manner humiliating us. Apologies are treated as lies meant to throw us off our guard. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that upon any private matter of business no sensible man would think of heeding talk like that to which some of our statesmen have lately treated us on our foreign relations. Most of it, like that about the Hawaiian cable, such as Mr. Morgan's suggestion, that a "military cable" would in some manner differ from a commercial cable, would discredit a smart boy or girl of twelve. But it suits the purpose of the militant press to call the jingo orators "well-informed men who have the courage of their convictions," or "students of the foreign policy" of some other nation. Along with this goes daily abuse of the Secretary of State, who is following the rules of civilized diplomatic intercourse and trying to keep the peace. Everything he does is a blunder. Common politeness in his despatches is base truckling to foreigners. His ignorance is unparalleled. Care for the honor of his country he has none. Foreign ministers write his despatches, and it is well if he is not receiving a salary from England or Germany.

Now for whom is this stuff intended? On whom is it supposed likely to have some effect? Well, on a very large body of persons, mostly farmers, but also veterans of the late war, and military and naval men, who think the time has come for something remarkable to happen in American history. The abounding, unparalleled prosperity of the country which set in very soon after the Revolution, was sure in the long run to affect the national temperament very seriously, and it did affect it, in the direction of greater hopefulness, greater indifference to consequences, and greater confidence in the national destiny. Along with this came the cultivation of enthusiasm, as a desirable national characteristic, and a certain corresponding depreciation of coldness, reflectiveness, and caution, as unsuited to the conditions of life on this continent. Indeed, excitability may almost be said to have become a cherished trait, which the American

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boy learns from his earliest years to consider a necessary part of his equipment as a citizen. A more desirable surface than this for newspapers to play on, it would be hard to contrive. Given enthusiasm, and sensitiveness under the slights to which the less advanced state of our material civilization exposes us at the hands of our foreign critics, and we have almost complete materials for those peculiarly savage and truculent wars for which people who do not mean to share in their dangers or responsibilities, are always ready. No wars are so relentless, so difficult to end, or so exacting in their aims, as wars set on foot by persons who will suffer in neither mind nor body from defeat. Not only are the directors of newspaper wars, however, exempt from responsibility, but defeat is just as profitable to them as victory. The demand for newspapers is apt to be even greater after a disaster than after a triumph.

Now the medium through which the newspaper acts most effectively on the enthusiastic temperament is what is known as "true Americanism," or "thorough Americanism," or better than all, "intense Americanism." I have studied these phrases a good deal with the view of finding out their exact meaning, but have not been successful in ever getting any exact definition of them from any one who used them in good faith. As a rule, one's merely asking for the meaning of them is taken as a sign of a spirit of ridicule or mockery, which makes real explanation of them difficult, or impossible. Consequently an earnest seeker after the truth is compelled—at least such has been my experience—to rely largely on the context, or on surrounding circumstances, or on collateral remarks, in trying to discover what they really mean who say they are "intense Americans." I used at one time to suppose that an intense, or good American, was a person who was content with his country just as it is, its laws, religion, manners and morals; who was, in spite of its defects, reasonably proud of it, and not disturbed by the judgments passed on it by hostile foreign observers. But it soon became apparent to me that the phrase meant much more than this. I found it did not stand for any piece of American political philosophy. It did not mean simply faith in any particular set of the ideas which are not unnaturally supposed to animate American institutions, such as the equality of man, or the perfectibility of the race, or the continuity of progress, or every

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man's natural fitness for office, or the certainty of American good luck. All these are the joint property of many nations, part of the common inheritance of the human race with which it tries to make tolerable its lot on earth. Nor does "intense Americanism" mean glory in the prospect of American growth in wealth and population and revenue, potentiality for military purposes, or consciousness of the fact, that, if we chose to try, we could "whip creation." It means, as well as I have been able to make out, and after approaching the matter from every side, and applying to it every test I can think of, simple readiness to take offense. An 'intense American" is constantly on the lookout for somebody who either expresses, or implies by his looks or manner, doubts of the ability of the United States to thrash other nations; or who fails to acknowledge the right of the United States to occupy such territories, canals, isthmuses or peninsulas, as they may think it desirable to have, or who speaks disrespectfully of the Monroe doctrine, or who doubts the need of a large navy, or who admires European society, or who likes to go to Europe, or who fails, in case he has to go, to make comparisons unfavorable to Europe.

This state of mind is, of course, accompanied with great sensitiveness to criticism of every description and great exposure to slights and affronts. It is the state of mind which is known as "ill-conditioned," and which usually ends in chronic peevishness and irritability. In private life persons thus afflicted become the pests of the household, from whom everybody flees who can, both in business and pleasure. A nation which undertakes such a rôle cannot long maintain a decent footing in the family of nations. Its attempts to embody morbid conceit and suspicion in a foreign policy would result either in its being sent to Coventry, or in receiving a sound thrashing from the combined forces of the civilized world. Good temper, civility, politeness of form, patience and self-restraint have become part of the common law of Christendom which no nation is powerful enough to disregard.

And they never would be disregarded, or only very rarely, if diplomatic intercourse were carried on solely by diplomatists. But side by side with all diplomatic controversy, there usually goes on a newspaper controversy, which cannot be silenced, and which is by no means always confined to the merits of the dis-

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pute. Newspaper discussions of international difficulties may not always be well informed, but if they are really discussions of questions, they cannot do much harm ; nay, they may do some good. Their mischief begins when they begin to hurl defiance, heap abuse, and impute motives. The more the democracy of every country comes to the front in international controversy, the more it listens to and is led by the journalistic objurgations of the other side, the more difficult it becomes for the professional diplomatist to maintain the measure and precision of his language, and justify his moderation to his own countrymen. So that, until we get a race of editors who will consent to take a share of the diplomatist's responsibility for the national peace and honor, the newspapers will constitute a constant danger to the amicable relations of great powers.

E. L. GODKIN.

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THE PROGRESS OF METEOROLOGY.

BY PROF. FRANK WALDO, PH. D., AUTHOR OF "MODERN METEOROLOGY," ETC., ETC.

So LITTLE is generally known about the earliest beginnings of our present science of meteorology that a few words of historic *résumé* will probably not be unwelcome before I touch lightly upon some important features of its modern development.

We know from Biblical and other historic sources that atmospheric conditions have been observed from the earliest times, and attempts made at a rough characterization of the changes which have been noticed in wind and weather. Until the invention of the modern meteorological instruments of precision, all measures of meteorological conditions were made but indirectly, and cover at least whole seasons in their time extent. Such records as have come down to us in history refer to times of extreme cold or great floods; the opposite extremes of excessively hot seasons or great droughts are seldom explicitly mentioned, and we can only infer them from the accounts of famines which accompany them. There is one exception to this crudeness which deserves notice. It is probable that the direction of the wind has been noted with almost modern accuracy ever since the orientation which we now designate "points of compass" has been a recognized system. It has been estimated that the wind's direction was relegated to the four cardinal points of compass at least as early as 1000 B. C.; but it was not until about 500 B. C. that the Grecians added four additional directions. Probably the oldest arrangement which has come down to us for locating the direction of the wind is the "Tower of the Winds" at Athens; this dates from about 100 B. C.

The science of meteorology has been developed by the progress of civilization in Europe. It is therefore a distinctively European

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science, and the story of its early growth can be studied only on the western continent. Climatology can be studied for Europe by somewhat rough methods for the period before the year 1000 A. D.; but we have very little data before that date, and even at that epoch we have only some records of very cold winters in some parts of Europe. The thermometer was invented by Galileo in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and we have a few records with this instrument extending back two hundred years or more. For about this same length of time there exists also a record of annual periods when the waters of northern Europe are ice-bound or free from ice. Likewise, in southern Europe, reliable records have been kept of the dates of grape harvest during the past four hundred years or more, and these dates are an index to the natures of the successive seasons.

Concerning rainfall we have still less satisfactory records. About all of the really old material that we have is the indirect measure of the rainfall shown by the fluctuation in height of the water level of some rivers or inland seas. There has been a much-broken record kept for the Caspian Sea since the tenth century; but the more reliable observations do not extend back more than two centuries, when the earlier continuous series of direct observations by means of rain-gauges were begun.

While some of the methods for measuring atmospheric moisture have long been known (since the fifteenth century), yet satisfactory records do not go back of the present century. Observations of atmospheric pressure by means of the barometer (invented by Torricelli in 1643) have been made with regularity for more than a century, but those records made before about 1825 have little claim to recognition by modern meteorologists on account of the unreliable instruments formerly used.

The improvement of instruments employed in meteorological work and the methods of using them have always received great attention from those engaged in this kind of work, but it has been only since about 1850 that anything like the modern conception of refined work has been adopted as a criterion of excellence. This last half of the century has witnessed the introduction of elaborately organized systems of meteorological services in nearly all of the civilized countries for the purpose of making climatic surveys; and this has necessitated the establishment of an immense number of more or less permanent observing stations which

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have been equipped with instruments according to the kind of work which they are expected to accomplish. These stations vary in magnitude and importance from the thunderstorm station, where the voluntary lay observer employs no instruments at all except his timepiece, up to the elaborately equipped observatory manned by a permanent staff of half a dozen expert scientists; the observatories at Pawlowsk, Russia, and Potsdam, Germany, are the best examples of these last institutions, which unfortunately are known mostly by hearsay in the United States.

Formerly it was considered that almost any person could make meteorological observations with sufficient accuracy, but in reality a high order of skill is required; and it is certainly as difficult to read a thermometer to within a tenth of a degree as it is for an astronomer to observe the transit of a star with ordinary accuracy; or it is as hard to read a barometer to the nearest thousandth of an inch as it is to make a micrometer setting in measuring star distances.

The introduction of self-recording instruments for making meteorological observations opened a new era in the field of data-collecting. Activity in this line really began about 1850, but it has been only within the last twenty years that any extended application of this kind of apparatus has been made, and even now it is far less than is desirable. The best self-recording instruments furnish results of the same degree of accuracy as that obtained by a skillful observer by direct observations.

As a control for insuring the accuracy of observations, on an absolute scale, it has been found necessary to establish standards with which the instruments actually used in making the observations may be compared. Usually each country has had its own more or less thoroughly investigated and adjusted standards, and for international work it has been necessary to compare the standards of one country with those of another in order to allow for existing differences. It is probable, however, that it will be but a short time before the normal instruments of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures at Sèvres, Paris, will be adopted as the recognized standards throughout the whole world. This will give to our future meteorological observations a unity which they have not had heretofore.

The primary cause of collecting meteorological data was the determination of the normal conditions which prevail for any

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place, and also the variations from these normals which the elements may undergo during the longer or shorter periods of change which are found to exist for each. There was, of course, almost from the first, more or less comparing of data for different places, but it required the genius of Humboldt to open up an immensely wider view of the subject by collecting together the scattered temperature observations, and drawing on geographical charts the lines of equal temperatures (isotherms). Ever since the appearance of these charts, in the early part of the century, it has been the ultimate object of most investigators who have devoted themselves to meteorology to reproduce such charts with greater completeness, and to show by a similar process the complete terrestrial distribution of other meteorological elements, such as air pressure, rainfall, wind force and direction, etc. As aids to the final completion of such a huge undertaking, nearly all of the civilized countries have published, and mostly during the past few years, tables and charts for the regions within their own boundaries; and in addition to this, many of the maritime nations have extended their inquiries to the high seas and uncivilized lands. It may be noted that the force of example has induced Japan to organize a meteorological service hardly inferior to those of Europe.

For clearness of expression the graphical presentation of meteorological data is much more advantageous than the representation by mere numbers; and this is especially true in all cases where geographical distribution is being considered. We find, therefore, a constantly increasing application of graphics to meteorology, not only in giving results in published form, but also as an aid in the process of investigation. There are, however, classes of analytical investigations where the expressions denoting magnitudes must be preserved in mathematical form in order that they may be systematically or symmetrically treated. Thus the average daily, hourly, or monthly normals and variations therefrom are still represented by the ordinary Bessel's Functions (the sine or cosine formula), although the use of this formula is now not nearly so frequent as was the case thirty years ago. The geographical distribution of averages for stations scattered over the whole globe can be well represented by the method of spherical functions which were applied by Gauss for terrestrial magnetism, by Schoch for air temperatures, and by Hill for gravity. This method, now so

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little appreciated by meteorologists, will undoubtedly come into great favor in the near future.

The numerous methods of making and afterwards discussing observations gradually led to the idea that uniformity was a necessity if there was to be coöperation between the organized workers of various countries. About twenty years ago representatives from several different lands met at Leipzig to see what could be done to remedy the existing evils due to lack of system; and from this meeting resulted the international meteorological congresses which have met, since then, at intervals of about three years. These meetings have resulted not only in producing unity in the form of official meteorological publications issued by most civilized nations, but they have also brought about a thorough and much needed discussion of the relative merits of existing methods, and permitted concerted action to be taken in the matter of future work on an international basis.

In looking backwards over the extensive literature which has been produced concerning meteorology, I find two books which, more than others, furnish us with satisfactory reviews of the science up to the dates of their publication. These books are Kaemtz's *Lehrbuch der Meteorologie,* 1836, and Schmid's *Lehrbuch der Meteorologie,* 1860. We have no such works as these in either the English or French language. The progressive strides made in the subject since 1860, and especially within the past twenty years, have now rendered impossible any such recapitulative work in a single volume, or, indeed, by any individual author in a number of volumes. There are now, probably, a score of modern treatises on meteorology, by as many different authors, in which the main results of our progress have been brought before the reading or student public; but in nearly all of these cases selected topics have been treated to the exclusion of others of equal importance, but which could not be crowded into the pages of individual works. Thus we find even popular works specialized.

The subject of weather and weather predictions is the truly popular side of meteorology. It is popular with the people, and unfortunately it is still a "popular science" with those who view it professionally. From ancient times it has been the custom to make local weather predictions for the morrow from the aspects of the sky to-day; but the later phases of the question, the pre-

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diction of weather for a distant locality, is of modern development. I can only make here a few references to the special topic of weather predictions in the middle latitudes. About the middle of the last century Franklin discovered that great storms moved across our country, from the west, in an easterly direction. But the storms moved with such rapidity that no practical use could be made of this discovery, in warning the people to the eastward of the approach of a storm, until a very rapid means of communication was established between the west and the east. This was furnished by the invention and introduction of the telegraph; but who first proposed the use of the telegraph for the purpose of sending storm warnings I am not quite certain. It is probable, however, that the idea occurred about the same time to persons in Europe and America, as soon as the practical success of telegraphy was demonstrated. The mere announcement of the existence of a storm to the westward, and that it might be expected in the east, did not satisfy the scientific mind. Loomis had invented a method of displaying on a map the weather conditions prevailing simultaneously at various observing stations scattered over the country (the eastern part of the United States); and, by means of lines of equal air-pressure and equal air-temperature, drawn on such a map, he laid bare the structure of our extended storms in such a manner that the true relations could be seen. Moreover, by drawing such maps for successive days, the gradual changes in the storm could be followed out, and the path of the storm could be accurately traced. Loomis did not investigate his storms until long after they had occurred, because he had to receive his data from the various sources by mail. The application of telegraphy, however, permitted the transmission at once from the various observing stations to a central point, where weather maps, according to Loomis's plan, could be made while the storm was still in progress; and then not only could the track already passed over by the storm be traced, but, judging from the previous courses of such storms, the probable future direction which it would take could be pointed out. Such is the general method of work pursued by our services for weather predictions at the present time, except that local phenomena are also taken into account in making predictions for any specially designated region.

The value of such work is as fully recognized in Europe as in our own country, and in fact the recent voluntary changes in our

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American system of making weather forecasts have made it more than ever similar to the European method. Formerly our official weather predictions were mainly made at Washington, but now these are supplemented by the forecasts made by officials located at a number of points distributed over the country. In Europe each nation has its own weather predictors, and in order that each one may have a whole continental distribution of data at his disposal it is necessary to have a telegraphic exchange between the various countries.

Just a word can be added concerning the nature of these weather predictions. They are not, as some persons think, of a really satisfactory scientific nature. They certainly do require the application of certain faculties of judgment in order to make them successfully; but it has frequently been found to be the case that persons with a relatively very small amount of meteorological knowledge could make better predictions than the savants in the science. The progress in improving the methods of predictions has been very slight since their first beginning, and whatever gain has been made has been due to the increase of telegraphic and other facilities for the rapid transmission of data and the predictions themselves. Our weather maps have remained practically unchanged in form for years, and I venture to suggest that if the Weather Bureau would give us, for only one year, maps of the weather conditions two or three times a day, as shown by records from all of the State meteorological stations, as well as those from the present general government stations, we should have the means of studying the process of storm development with a much greater probability of adding to our present knowledge than is likely to occur without some such change in the plan now in use. In order to have storms so minutely portrayed as this would allow, we who are students would gladly wait for the maps a month or two as might be necessary. It is still too soon to hope that observations aloft may be made with regularity, but the missing links necessary for the true understanding of storms is undoubtedly to be found in the atmospheric conditions above the earth's surface. All long-range weather predictions are pure charlatanism, and any scientist who would have the temerity to foretell the weather conditions for a coming season, or even the coming week, would very deservedly lose caste with his fellow-workers.

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The department of our science which deserves to stand highest in the esteem of men of thought is the so-called theoretical meteorology. This is the term now applied to the statics and dynamics of the atmosphere as developed in recent years by eminent physicists. It has been always considered that such variable phenomena as the winds could not possibly be governed by laws of sufficient simplicity for philosophers to detect them. It was perhaps the regularity of the trade winds which first suggested the possibility of system in the air movements. The greatest prominence is certainly given to them in the theory of the general circulation of the atmosphere as outlined by Hadley in his paper in the *Philosophical Transactions* in the year 1735. Hadley said that the difference in the temperature at the poles and the Equator gave rise to an ideal air circulation, which, being modified by the influence of the diurnal rotation of the earth on its axis, produced the existing general circulation. About a century later, Dove, the great German meteorologist, sought to extend Hadley's theory by following out further the action of the general currents, and assigning to their power and influence the origin of the secondary atmospheric disturbances which predominate in our latitudes and give us the winds of such proverbial variability. But Dove had not that breadth of conception which was necessary for solving the problem, and he became entangled in the details of his theory. And, moreover, his views so completely muddled the ideas of many of the students of his works that they have never yet been able, even at this late day, to see the value of subsequent theories. It remained for the philosophical mind of an American, William Ferrel, to point out some defects in earlier theories (especially in Hadley's) and lay before us a picture of the atmospheric circulation as a whole, and the relation to it of the secondary, aye and even the tertiary, systems of air movement. Ferrel's earlier papers were written in 1856-58-59, but he continued perfecting his grand theory in subsequent papers, and gives it to us as a whole in his book, *A Popular Treatise on the Winds.** This remarkable work should be read by every person who desires to know about the origin and maintenance of the greater and lesser air motions: it is to be regretted, however, that Ferrel did not present in this book the results obtained by other theoretical investigators in the same field of work. Ferrel's reasoning was mainly deductive

* John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1889.

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and with one exception his work stands alone in the English meteorological literature of the present day. France has not produced any very great deductive meteorologist, but the Germans have taken up the matter with their usual thoroughness, and the works of Hann, Köppen, Sprung, Möller, Oberbeck, Werner Siemens, Von Bezold, and, last and greatest of all, Von Helmholtz have combined to form a literature of the greatest importance in the development of modern meteorology. In this same connection the work of the Norwegians Guldberg and Mohn must not be omitted, because they were the first of the continentalists to write, in 1876-80, an extended memoir on the subject of air motions, in which the subject is dealt with according to the modern mathematical methods of treating fluid motions.

I think that Ferrel's theory of the general circulation of the atmosphere will prove of far more lasting importance than his other work concerning the details of the secondary motions. These last in our latitudes are the huge cyclonic wind-whirls which sweep across our country in an eastwardly direction, and which, as we have seen, form our variable weather conditions. Theoretical meteorologists have sought to find the origin of these cyclones, and that of their opposites, the anti-cyclones, but it still remains a matter of doubt. Some investigators have considered them to be due entirely to local conditions of temperature and moisture; others have thought them to be caused by a combination of local conditions and the great primary hemispherical air circulation; while the studies of the eminent German physicists have led them to think that these huge vortical disturbances, often many hundred miles in diameter, are almost entirely due to the primary air circulation. This last is in some respects a return to the Dovian theory, but it is mainly in name, for the methods of investigation employed are entirely post-Dovian. In closing, I will add that the direct useful application of meteorology to commerce, navigation, agriculture, the practice of medicine, and hygiene is coming to be recognized as of such great importance that the hearty support is secured for it of persons who have the power to greatly promote its future growth.

FRANK WALDO.

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THE INCOME TAX.

I.—THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

THE recent contest before the Supreme Court of the United States, which involved the validity of so much of the Tariff Act of 1894 as imposed a tax on incomes, was only less important than the contests before that Court involving the right of secession and the constitutionality of the measures of reconstruction.

The importance of the controversy did not depend upon the questions arising from the peculiarities of the law of 1894, but upon the question of the validity of any income tax, and more particularly upon the validity of so much of the act as provided for a levy of a tax upon rent of land or income from real estate.

Upon one point, there was agreement at the bar, viz.: That, by the Constitution, Federal taxes are divided into two classes; those which are direct taxes on the one hand, and those which are either duties, imposts or excises on the other.

Capitation taxes, and taxes on land, are held to be direct taxes, and on this point there was no difference of opinion. Nor can there be any doubt that, under the Constitution, direct taxes must be apportioned among the States according to the number of inhabitants in each State.

It was held by the Court, six of the eight judges concurring in the opinion, that taxes on the rent of land or the income from real estate are, in fact, taxes upon the real estate itself, and upon the theory that the rent or income from real estate is an incident of the ownership of the estate. As a result of this opinion, so much of the act of 1894 as provided for the levy of a tax on the income from land, is declared to be unconstitutional and void.

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The Court was also of opinion that the income from bonds of States and municipalities was not subject to taxation by the national government. Consequently, so much of the act of 1894 as provided for a levy of taxes upon incomes from the bonds of States and municipalities was declared to be invalid.

Upon three other questions of importance the Court was equally divided, and therefore no opinion was expressed.

(1.) Whether the void provisions as to the income from real estate invalidated the whole act? (2.) Whether as to the income from personal property, as such, the act is unconstitutional, as a levy of direct taxes? (3.) Whether any part of the tax, if not considered as a direct tax, is invalid for want of uniformity on either of the grounds suggested in the argument?

The exemption from taxation of the income from State and municipal bonds was sustained by the whole Court, and is in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court from an early period in its history.

In a public point of view, the validity of the existing tax act, in so far as its validity depends upon the peculiarity of its provisions, is of no considerable importance, but the exemption from taxation of the rent and income from real estate, except the levy is through the rule of apportionment and among the States, works, practically, a very serious impairment of the ability of the government to raise revenue. It may well be assumed, as was suggested in the opinion of the Court, that an income tax and direct taxes through the States should be resorted to only in an exigency, but it is of supreme importance that the government should be able, in an exigency, to raise revenue from rents and incomes from real estate by some practicable method.

In every government the power of taxation is an essential condition of continuing existence, and every limitation upon the exercise of that power is a limitation of the capacity of the government to exist.

By the Articles of Confederation the general government had no power to levy taxes, and yet it had power to incur debts. At the end of ten years its insolvency was apparent, and its incapacity, as a government, had been demonstrated to the thoughtful men of the country. The downfall of the Confederation was due to its inability to levy taxes; and the Constitution of the United States had its rise in that experience. With the power to

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levy taxes, even with all its other infirmities on its head, the Confederation might have outlasted, and it is probable that it would have outlasted, the eighteenth century.

It was in the presence of that condition of public affairs that the Constitution of the United States was created; and, within the range of probabilities, nothing can be more reasonable than the supposition that the framers of that instrument intended to avoid the error which had caused the wreck of the confederate government.

If this be so, then it may be inferred fairly, that when the Convention gave to Congress power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," the Convention intended to set forth, as well, the limitations to the exercise of the power, to define the method of its exercise, and, finally, that, in these particulars, nothing was to be left for inference, conjecture or argument.

Except for the presence of limiting and qualifying clauses in the Constitution, the phrase quoted gave to Congress power to levy taxes upon all the persons and property of the nation, and wherever resident, or situated, and with an authority equivalent to that which might be exercised by a State over the persons and property within its jurisdiction.

Beyond this, and exclusive of the power of the States, the right to levy customs duties was vested exclusively in the general government. This concession by the States was not made without debate, nor without hesitation, especially by Rhode Island, but the concession was not procured through any compromise. It is suggested in the opinion of the Court that there were inland States, and that those States, in consideration of the concession by the maritime States of the right to levy customs duties, agreed to a system of direct taxation upon the basis of population, and that it was foreseen that under that system a disproportionate burden would fall upon the inland States. The truth is that every one of the thirteen States was a maritime State; all were engaged in commerce; all alike, if not equally, were interested in the collection of customs duties by States, and they were alike, if not equally, interested in transferring the power to the national government. There was in the Convention, at the end, a general agreement upon two points, namely: that there was manifest injustice in allowing the duties to pass into the treasury of the State in which the port of entry might

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be situated; and that conflicting tariff systems would be injurious to regular commerce, and to the growth of manufactures.

In the second clause of the tenth section of the first article of the Constitution, the words "imposts or duties" are limited to taxes on "imports or exports," and hence it is not within the competency of the States to levy "imposts or duties," except for the use of the treasury of the United States as is stipulated in the said clause.

The taxes, known as "imposts" and "duties," having thus passed by the provisions of the Constitution from the States to the United States, all other taxes which the government can levy fall under the head of "taxes" or "excises."

There is a large sense and a not uncommon usage, which give to the word "taxes" a definition whose scope includes duties, imposts and excises, but in the Constitution the word is so limited and controlled that "excises," as well as "duties" and "imposts," are not within the meaning of the word "taxes." In the extract from the Constitution, already quoted, "taxes" and "excises" are spoken of as distinct means of raising a revenue for the specified purposes of the government.

By the third clause of section two, article one, "direct taxes" were to be apportioned among the several States, "according to their respective numbers;" and by the fourth clause of section nine of the same article, it is declared that "no capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken."

Thus are these two provisions of the Constitution connected together and thus does it appear that the words "tax" and "taxes," and the phrase "no capitation, or other, direct tax," were designed by the framers of the Constitution to include only those "direct taxes" which were neither "excise levies" nor "duties," nor "imposts."

Every tax upon a man or a thing is a direct tax, and in this large and every-day meaning of the phrase, it follows that capitation taxes, land taxes, excises, duties and imposts are one and all "direct taxes." No one, however, whether advocate or public writer, has ever contended for this construction of the Constitution.

Again, a land tax has always been classed as a "direct tax." The same statement is applicable to a capitation tax. Indeed, a capitation tax is declared in the Constitution to be a direct tax. It is

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worthy of notice that in the fourth clause of section nine of article one, the word "tax" is used in the singular,—"no capitation, or other direct, *tax* shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken," thus giving a basis for the argument that two subjects, and two only, were marked for direct taxation, and brought within the scope of the third clause of section two of article one.

These two taxes, by long usage and universal consent, are "direct" taxes, and they have no quality or peculiarity which justifies their classification under any other head.

By a broad definition taxes on carriages, on watches, on incomes, on professions, on produce, as tobacco and cotton, the "imposts and duties" levied on goods imported, are, one and all, "direct taxes," but one and all they are naturally and properly subject to other classifications.

In every case thus enumerated, and in every other case that might be added to the enumeration, the tax acts will aim and must aim at the thing to be taxed and at the possessor of the thing to be taxed. Thus are they all "direct taxes"; but they are all something else, and they are all to be taxed under other classifications, or they must fall in with capitation and land taxes, and thus would the government be forced to rely upon customs duties and levies upon the States.

Thus indirectly would the old Confederation be revived, and thus a government that had withstood the assaults of war might be disintegrated by processes of law in time of peace.

Of all the objects of taxation an income tax is an "excise tax," practically, etymologically, and without a rival. As to all other objects of taxation, the "excise" can only be secured in form to be useful as public revenue, by a process of conversion; while an income may be divided and the "excise," or the part cut out, can be used as revenue without change of fact or form.

Further, if this analysis be accepted, it follows that the phrase "excise taxes," as used in the Constitution, must include every form of taxes which are not "imposts and duties" on the one side, or "direct taxes" on the other; and if the phrase "direct taxes" is held to include any tax other than a land tax and a capitation tax, then there will remain no subject of taxation to which the phrase "excise tax" can be referred.

To assume that any one of the proper objects of taxation

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which may be found between a capitation tax and a land tax on the one side, and "customs imposts and duties" on the other, was to be taxed in conformity to the third clause of section two, article one, is to assume that the authors of the Constitution were incapable, not merely of framing a government, but of providing for its continued existence. Is it conceivable that taxes on incomes, on professional service, on carriages, on silver-ware and gold-ware, on cotton, on tobacco, can be levied upon the States in proportion to population and collection thereof be made?

And if not, can we assume that the men who made the Constitution anticipated that the experiment would ever be tried?

And if the experiment was not to be tried, did they intend to limit taxation to lands, to heads, and to customs duties?

They made a contrary declaration when they gave to Congress unlimited power to levy taxes. The power remains. A reasonable way for its exercise must be found.

Is it too much to say that this proposition is absurd, viz.: that a tax on a carriage and the owner of a carriage is an excise tax and may be assessed directly and personally, and that a tax upon the receiver of an income in money is a "direct tax," and can only be assessed upon the States, and that without any inquiry as to the existence of persons in the enjoyment of incomes?

The last branch of this proposition was asserted by Mr. Edmunds (*Argument*, pp. 16, 17), and he assumed that the first branch of the proposition was already the law of the land (p. 12).

The levy and collection of an income tax through the States, and upon the basis of population, would be an impossibility, on account of the manifest injustice of the proceeding. Mr. Edmunds' proposition was, in substance, a declaration that the possessors of incomes, however derived, and whatever the public exigencies, should be relieved of all liability to contribute to the public revenues. To say that an income tax of fifty million dollars may be assessed upon the States in proportion to population, is to declare, in effect, that it shall not be collected by any process; inasmuch as no just man or equitable court could say that it ought to be paid.

When Mr. Choate approached the conclusion of the argument, aimed at the existence of a power in Congress to levy an income tax, and not merely an argument against the constitutionality of

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the statute of 1894, he shrank from a full indorsement of the position that had been taken by his two associates.

He qualified the claim, but the new position seemed to be equally at variance with the opinions of the Court in the Hylton case and the Springer case. He precipitated a theory upon the Court, which for a hundred years had lain dormant in the Constitution of the country,—a theory of which neither Marshall nor Story had had knowledge. That the theory, in its main feature, was accepted by the Court, is a marked tribute to Mr. Choate's quality as an advocate.

With the approval of his associates he thus states his new position—a change of front in the face of the enemy. "Therefore, for the purposes of this argument, I shall assume what my adversaries claim. I shall assume that it may possibly be decided by this court, as it has so often been decided before, that all duties, all excises, all imposts, are shut out from the class of direct taxes by the necessary meaning and effect of the Constitution, and that they are to be administered by the rule of uniformity, as they ought to be in this law and are not. I shall claim, upon the other hand, that at any rate, so far as regards the direct, inevitable, necessary income, and outgrowth of real estate and personal estate, the tax is a direct tax levied upon the proper subject of a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution, and is therefore invalid." (*Argument*, p. 11.)

Thus leaving to the Court the general proposition "that all duties, all excises, all imposts fall under the rule of uniformity and not under the rule of apportionment among the States," he excepts incomes which are "the outgrowth of real estate and personal estate" from classification as "duties, excises, or imposts," and claims that they are direct taxes, and that they can only be levied upon the States and according to population. So much of this claim as relates to the outgrowth of real estate was accepted by the Court.

In practice the distinction would seem to be this: A citizen who owns a carriage, or raises cotton or tobacco, or who follows a business that yields a profit, or pursues a profession from which some gains are derived, may be compelled personally to pay a tax on the thing owned, or on the article produced, or on the income earned, and upon the theory that these levies fall under the head of "excise taxes"; while the rent of lands and houses and

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stores, and the earnings of moneys invested in bonds, stocks and securities of every sort, can only be reached through the apportionment system, by which the new, frontier, and not yet wealthy State of Nebraska, as an example, would be assessed three times the amount that would be levied upon the State of Rhode Island, where wealth has been accumulating in families and in institutions for more than two and a half centuries.

Again, as a system of taxation, as a practical scheme for raising a revenue, who does not foresee that never, never in the centuries, will the poorer States consent to a levy of an income tax of fifty million, of ten million, of one million, in presence of the known truth that the tax was to be paid by States in which the incomes did not exist?

If it be true, as was asserted by Mr. Choate, that the States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania will pay nine-tenths of the income tax under the statute of 1894, is it within the range of conjecture, or the sphere of any man's faith or hope, that the forty other States in the year 1895, or that the poorer States in any time future, destined always to be a majority, will consent to the levy of an income tax under the rule of apportionment? And will any man, whether supporter or opponent of the income tax system, say that the poorer States ought to assume such a burden?

Nor is the case relieved by the suggestion, if the suggestion were well founded, that there was a compromise in the Convention by which rents of lands and gains from personal property were to be counted as the incidents of land, and to be treated as land for the purposes of taxation.

The nation is bound by the Constitution, and not by anything that was said or done in the Convention. The Constitution is silent. It furnishes no direct support to the theory that rents of land are distinguishable from other incomes.

Nor is the theory supported by the Madison Papers. There was one compromise, and one only, touching the subject of taxation, and that compromise was incorporated in the Constitution. The slave States claimed that the slaves should be exempt from the capitation tax. The free States claimed that, as the slaves were producers, they should be subject to a capitation tax, as though they were free. At the end, the scheme of a capitation tax was connected with the basis of representation. The slaves were

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divided into blocks of five, and for the purpose of assessing a capitation tax, and for the purpose of apportioning representatives among the States, each block of five was to be counted as three free persons. In this arrangement the taxation of land was not touched, nor considered, except that the population of the slave States was reduced in the proportion of two-fifths of the slave population.

The modern suggestion that the rent of lands and the outgrowth of personal property could only be taxed as real estate, was not made by anybody. Neither in the Madison Papers nor in the Federalist is there a hint that such a thought was entertained by anybody.

The quotation by Mr. Choate (p. 18) of a remark made by Mr. Langdon, of New Hampshire, and reproduced in the opinion of the Court, had no application to any feature of the Constitution that is involved in the present discussion.

I do not find in the Madison Papers the remark of Mr. Langdon, as quoted by Mr. Choate in these words: "It will be very hard upon New Hampshire, but we will submit to it for the purpose of carrying this Constitution through."

The remark, as reported by Madison, reads thus (p. 1377): "This would bear unreasonably hard upon New Hampshire, and he must be against it." It was this proposition that was to bear unreasonably hard upon New Hampshire, viz.:

"Mr. Gerry moved to add to article seven, section three, the following clause: That from the first meeting of the Legislature of the United States until a census shall be taken, all moneys for supplying the public treasury by direct taxation shall be raised from the several States, according to the number of their representatives respectively in the first branch."

As early as the 10th of June, 1787, three representatives in Congress had been assigned to New Hampshire, and that when that State was not represented in the Convention.

A motion to reduce its representation to two members had failed. In the debate on the Gerry motion, Mr. Langdon said that he was not present "when New Hampshire was allowed three members. It was more than her share; he did not wish for them." (*Madison Papers*, p. 1,381.)

Mr. Langdon's protest was not against the scheme of taxation, nor can it be forced, properly, into service in support of the claim

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that he was engaged in drawing a distinction between incomes that are "the outgrowth of real estate and of personal estate," and other incomes, and agreeing, reluctantly, to a constitution in which the first mentioned were to be levied upon the States in the form of "direct taxes." In truth, he was protesting against the assignment to New Hampshire of three representatives in Congress, when, in his opinion, the State was entitled to two only, upon the basis of population; and for the sufficient reason that the additional member added fifty per cent. to the tax that New Hampshire would be required to pay in case there should be a levy in advance of the census. This was the hardship that was to "bear unreasonably hard upon New Hampshire."

Nothing was said in the Convention, of which any record remains, that touches in the slightest degree the issue raised by Mr. Choate; and had there been pages of record in the line of his contention, his own words would contain a conclusive answer.

"The mere talk of this man or that in the Convention, mere talk of this man or that upon the bench of any court, unless it was a solemn adjudication upon his oath of office and the decision of a case, is of very little weight."

The Constitution is our only guide. That does not furnish any direct support to the new theory of taxation. Turning again to the practical side of this question, is it not apparent that the new theory works the exemption of all incomes derived from real estate and personal estate?

Mr. Choate admits as much when he attempts to show that there will remain adequate sources of revenue, as though a suggestion of that nature could have value in presence of the historical fact that within thirty-five years the resources of the country were taxed to the uttermost, including a levy of five per cent., and an additional levy of five per cent. upon "the outgrowth of real estate and of personal estate," and of all other incomes as well. At the close of an enumeration of the sources of revenue that will remain to the general government after the abstraction for which he contends, Mr. Choate says: "It will leave to the federal government, to be applied by the rule of uniformity, all taxes on transportation of every kind, from the $100,000,000 railroad down to the cart of the licensed vendor."

This, then, is the Constitution, of which four generations of

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Americans have been boastful, and on which the leaders of thought in other lands have bestowed unmeasured encomiums!

The incomes derived from real estate and from personal estate are eliminated, practically, from the body of taxable property, and we are invited to accept in set-off, and as full satisfaction, the reservation of other means of raising a revenue, including a transportation tax on all articles produced and on all articles consumed by the mass of the people, down to, and including also, the street vendors of peanuts and fruits.

Not so thought Alexander Hamilton. In combating the notion that what was called *internal taxation*, including incomes, should be reserved to the States, he said of the national government: "Its future necessities admit not of calculation or limitation; and upon the principle more than once adverted to the power of making provision for them as they arise ought to be equally unconfined. I believe it may be regarded as a position, warranted by the history of mankind, that, *in the usual progress of things, the necessities of a nation, in every stage of its existence, will be found at least equal to its resources.* . . . As the duties of superintending the national defence, and of securing the public peace against foreign or domestic violence, involve a provision for casualties and dangers, to which no possible limits can be assigned, the power of making that provision ought to know no other bounds than the exigencies of the nation and the resources of the community." (*Federalist*, Nos. XXX. and XXXI.)

The main point of the opinion remains to be considered. It being conceded that land is the subject of direct taxation, and that a land tax must be apportioned among the States upon the basis of population, it is decided that the income of land is an incident of land, and that a tax on the rent is a tax on the land, as the tax on the rent can only be paid from the land. The authority is a quotation from Lord Coke to the effect that a grant in due form of a perpetual right to the rent of land, works, in law, a conveyance of the land from which the rent is derived. "For what," says he, "is the land but the profits thereof?"

This rule of English law was allied to the system of entail, and it had its origin in that system probably. Of its soundness there is no question. It would not follow, however, even in Great Britain, that an income tax on rents would be treated as a

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tax on land. However that may be, the rule should be otherwise in the United States. The common law of England extends not beyond the definition of words and phrases known to that law. In many of the States, and with great probability of truth, it may be said that in all the States, the rent of land, when earned, is not distinguishable from other personal property. Upon the death of a landowner his land vests immediately in his heirs-at-law, but rents, earned and uncollected, pass to the executor or administrator. This general policy has its basis in sound reason, and, if it had been accepted, it would have disposed of the contention that for the purposes of taxation the rent of land is not distinguishable from the land itself.

Holmes speaks of a rule of English law touching entailed estates, calls it "early law," and refers it to the times of the Seventh and Eighth Henrys, by which uncollected rents, earned in the lifetime of a tenant, passed with the estate to the new tenant. If such a system existed in this country the quotation from Lord Coke would give some support to the contention.

In this summary view, rather than review, of the opinion of the Court, I have not been influenced by any partiality for the statute of 1894. There ought not to have been occasion for the passage of an income tax act, and it is not improbable that the law will fail, in part, if not altogether, and upon the ground that it is lacking in the quality of uniformity.

The gravity of the decision is in the exemption of rents and incomes of real estate from taxation, except through the system of apportionment, which, in my opinion, has ceased to be a practical and practicable means of raising a revenue.

If the immense incomes derived from real estate are exempt from taxation, there is no moral foundation for the levy of a tax upon professions or pursuits, or upon earnings or upon incomes other than rents. At the end it appears difficult to escape two conclusions—one of law and one of fact:

First: The provision of the Constitution by which direct taxes are apportioned among the States upon the basis of population, is a dead provision, it having become inoperative by the extension of territory and by the unequal distribution of wealth, especially between the old States and the new.

The levy in 1861 of a direct tax of twenty million dollars upon the States was a failure. It was paid by some of the States and

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neglected by others. The experience under the Confederation was renewed, and after a quarter of a century the States that had paid the tax were reimbursed.

It is not probable that the experiment can be again tried under circumstances more favorable. The power of the general government to levy taxes on, or by, or through the States, has been annihilated by events, and every attempt to transfer additional subjects of taxation to the jurisdiction of that clause is, *quoad hoc*, an attempt to impair the means by which alone the continuing existence of the national government is made secure.

Second: Inasmuch as the Constitution gives to Congress power "to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," and inasmuch as the full and free exercise of that power is the chief, if not the only, means by which Congress can "pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," which is the injunction laid upon Congress, it follows that the limiting clauses in the Constitution are to be construed strictly. Nothing is to be excepted out of the powers of Congress beyond what is expressly declared to be so excepted.

Such, manifestly, was the rule of construction adopted by the Court in the case of Hylton, when, of the four members of the Court, two had been members of the Convention of 1787.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

II.—THE SPIRIT OF THE TAX.

BY PLAIN-SPEAKER.

THE speeches of our law-makers while the present income tax was under discussion clearly demonstrate that hostility against capital exercised a more direct influence in the imposition of the tax than the need of revenue. This is the difference between the present tax and that of war times, and constitutes the gravest objection against it. In short, the present income tax springs from the desire to make the wealthy uncomfortable in retaliation for the greater comforts they enjoy through their wealth. The action of the Supreme Court in excluding rents from taxation, therefore, gives a touch of opera bouffe to the situation. As a general rule, the wealthiest have a large portion of their fortunes in real estate. Following out the instinct that imposed this tax we might call

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them the drones. Yet they are to pay nothing on their revenue from real estate, and are even privileged to have the expenses of its maintenance deducted from their taxable income. Thus the man who derives his sole income from a salary, or from a business—in effect, who depends on his energy and his thrift—is punished, the occupant of the easy chair is favored.

But while the measure has miscarried in part, the law remains on our statute books, and the principle of class taxation stands.

What will be the effect of the tax? Can rents be brought within the scope of the tax by the Supreme Court in any rehearing? Will the clause of the Constitution as to "direct" taxes be wiped out by constitutional amendment? Will the tax continue in its present shape, or will it become a dead letter?

First, a word as to its most immediate effect.

Now, people of moderate means will probably interpret the tax in a liberal spirit, giving the government the benefit of the doubt on the many doubtful points in the measure. They will naturally fear the expense of a suit, for their time is valuable to them and they will prefer to suffer injustice, as the amount involved is small. In the case of the very rich, however, and where the amount is excessive, it will pay to employ counsel, and in many instances the suits will be won. Hence the income tax falls most severely on those of moderate means. Besides, a conscientious person is placed at a disadvantage. He does not wish to evade, so the tax plays directly into the hands of the crafty. All these arguments have been urged before, and I need not repeat them further; but a feeling of irritation will pervade all who pay this tax as they recognize that it was imposed upon them in spite, so to speak.

"Many will make up for the tax," an acquaintance observed to me, "by curtailing their charities. They will go further," he added, "and find an excuse for reducing their charities even beyond the amount of the tax they have paid, for when class is arrayed against class the pleasure of giving vanishes."

The spirit behind the splendid gifts that have so distinguished our wealthy citizens will be chilled, if not extinguished. Such public benefactions as our Astor libraries, our Roosevelt hospitals, our Lick observatories, our Stanford universities, will hardly be repeated, when during life a pistol is held at the head of the possessors of our large fortunes for being rich.

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As regards the future of the tax, the likelihood of the Supreme Court's reversing its decision on rents in any rehearing is doubtful, I think, as long as the *personnel* of the court remains as it is at present. Nor would apportionment among the different States be acceptable to such poorer States as Colorado or the Dakotas, for instance. The effort will rather be to wipe out the "direct clause" in the Constitution by constitutional amendment. The success of this effort will largely depend, I think, upon economic conditions.

If labor returns to its formerly prosperous condition, if wheat goes up and agricultural values rebound, the attempt will lose its principal incentive. Indeed, under these problematical circumstances, and an excessive cost of collection, the income tax might be repealed, or even die a natural death. The question to be considered, therefore, is whether labor is likely to return to its previous condition. On carefully considering the situation, does it not seem that we are slowly but surely approximating the standard of values in older countries? If this be the case, are not wages more likely to decline than to advance? With increased facilities of transportation and closer communion with the world, an equalization in wages must ensue, to the enhancement of those in the less favored countries and the detriment of our own. In fact, has this decline not already begun? The cry for cheap silver money, the unsettled condition of the labor market during the past few years, the strikes and the convulsive efforts of labor organizations to maintain their status, all prove it.

These disturbances are but the cracklings of the ice after the waters beneath have begun to subside. We recognize the decline in well-being so far as our farmers are concerned, and fully appreciate that competition with India and South America has affected the value of their labor. In face of competition with Egypt our cotton has fallen to such a point that its growth at this day hardly pays the producer. Yet the irrigation works now in process of construction in Egypt will, I have heard, increase the yields of Egyptian cotton by fifty per cent. Must this not tend to lower still further the rate of wages in the cotton districts of the South, if cotton is to be raised there at all? However unwelcome it be, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the products of our soil are continually falling with the opening of new fields in distant lands, with the introduction into them of superior methods

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of farming and of improved agricultural machinery, and with decreasing rates of transportation. Roughly speaking, fifty per cent. of our population are engaged in agriculture. Can this proportion of our people suffer a diminution in the value of their labor without consequence to the rest? No! Wages generally must follow the decline in agricultural values, not down to, but towards, the standard of wages in older countries. The greater demand for labor in the development of a new country and our ingenuity as a people will sustain us on a higher level than the others; but the difference will not be so marked as it has been, and the trend must be downwards. With this decline will come increased severity in the struggle for existence. We will all have to work harder. Gold will no longer reward the careless seeker in nuggets, so to speak, but must be acquired by more careful processes of mining, as land must be farmed more inexpensively and laboriously to yield a return. I do not mean that the cream of our prosperity has been skimmed with our virgin soil, but we are nearer the milk and smaller profits in every branch of industry. There may be special cases where labor will approach its old rates and exceptional conditions that will still make wages high, but the halcyon days of high wages for the laborer have unfortunately passed, as have the halcyon days of eight per cent. investments for the capitalist. With this increased severity in the struggle for existence there comes enhanced hostility against the rich. Therefore, if the tax remains on our statute books, the incentive to secure the passage of a constitutional amendment removing the "direct clause" of the constitution, so as to permit of the taxing of rents, becomes intensified, and the attempt undoubtedly will have a certain show of reason. For if you once admit the principle that a class can be taxed, common fairness cannot exclude the class which derives its revenue from the source that is supposed to be the surest and easiest. Frankly, on reading the decision of the Supreme Court, I am uncertain whether inheritances, if in real estate, can be taxed now; but if not, and the direct clause be wiped out, real estate inheritances ought certainly to be included. To change the constitution, however, is a very difficult matter. The same result could be attained either by a change in the *personnel* of the court on a vacancy in that body, or by pressure on the present members. Sooner or later, the court must reflect the popular

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will. The tax being then made uniform as regards rents, and its incongruities being removed, the question arises, will the rate remain as it is before the growing hostility against the rich on the part of the poor? On the contrary, will the rate not be increased? Inevitably, I think, it will.

The well-to-do will no more be able to stay an increase than they have been to stay the imposition of the tax itself. They have already been separated from the rest of the community, the dividing line being at four thousand dollars. They have been constituted a class apart, especially chosen to bear the burdens of taxation. It is not in human nature for those who have nothing to resist the temptation of increasing the taxes of the well-to-do. This increase would probably be arrived at by the insertion of the progressive feature in the tax. You can resist socialism, anarchy, because these would affect the people at large, but a progressive tax on income and inheritance would fall immediately but on the few. You cannot declare that it is visionary—it is very actual and real—yet it can be made to go as far as the wildest socialists dream. Once admit the principle that a small portion of the community can be penned off for taxation without the rest—a portion that must necessarily be, if not unpopular, at least the subjects of envy on the part of the many—and their sacrifice must follow. What Jew, what Catholic, what Protestant, would not recognize that his religion was on the edge of the precipice if he were marked off for taxation, however slight, because he belonged to one of these denominations? Being already separated into a class apart, the well-to-do will be so easy to reach, when the time comes to augment their burdens, that it will be impossible not to increase their burdens.

They will have a continually declining following to resist a progressive tax. They are in a more dangerous position than the Jew, if he were separated off for taxation, because they are so much fewer. The arguments that they will be able to urge in their own behalf will not be listened to. They are too subtle, too intangible, too distant. Looking about them, the mass of voters see so much wealth that has been acquired through peculation, through connivance of legislatures and through lobbying, through improper grants of franchises by boards of aldermen and municipalities, that already they lump all wealth in the same category. When, as I have tried to show, their own struggle for

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existence will be keener, and they more clearly perceive that they hold the wealth of the wealthy in the hollow of their hands, they will be impelled by a species of religious fury to equalize the condition of men.

You say, perhaps, my argument is the reverse of what one might have expected. Because labor promises to be less well remunerated; therefore, relieve the wealthy of their loads. Though so much wealth has been piratically acquired, still fight the battle for the rich. Alas! by destroying the rich you do not benefit the poor. Stated as a general proposition, we are aware that if you tax wealth unduly, it ceases to be productive. It hangs back, flies to other countries, and in the end reacts on labor by contracting its enterprises. This the experience of the world has shown us, but it requires many repetitions and occasionally a revolution to enforce the lesson.

Feeling as I do, that wealth is the rock on which all national prosperity rests, I maintain that this is not a mere question of preserving the wealth of the wealthy; it is a question of preserving the Republic, now for the first time assailed as all other republics have been. For the taxing of the rich man is the peculiar temptation of democracies, and assaults upon him have before now proved the nail in the coffin of popular government. What then is to be done? Is the struggle hopeless? No; there is an opportunity to remove the tax from the statute book—an opportunity once missed that will probably never return. When the country at large begins to appreciate the effect of the Supreme Court's decision on rents, there will be a temporary fit of hostility against the tax. Its incongruities and absurdities will stand out in such bold relief that for the moment it may be successfully assailed. Let those who have fought it renew their effort against it and seize this favorable occasion for its repeal. For if it is continued on the statute book as it is at present, a change in the *personnel* of the Supreme Court may allow of a different decision on rents without the passage of any constitutional amendment: the popularity of the measure with the mass of people will be established and we shall have entered upon the attractive and easy road that infallibly leads to national destruction.

PLAIN-SPEAKER.

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PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

V.—THE ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

"DURING the week that passed between the public announcement of the Emperor's forthcoming marriage with Mlle. de Montijo and the celebration of the marriage itself, civilized Europe simply went mad with excitement, and the whole of it was virtually transmitted to Paris like a telegraphic message." This sentence was written less than six weeks after the event, and on the writer's return from a dinner party at the Tuileries. It forms part of one of the notes given to me by M. de Maupas, shortly after I had translated his *Story of the Coup d'Etat*, and I have every reason to believe that their author was an English nobleman. The note in question proceeds as follows:

"The excitement has not abated; if anything, it appears to be on the increase, and especially is this the case with the immediate *entourage* of the Imperial couple. The whole of to-night's entertainment looked to me unreal, something like a banqueting scene of an opera, and I should not have been surprised to find the capon under my knife to consist of cardboard and my 'goblet of sparkling wine' 'full of emptiness,' with a rim of cotton-wool to represent the foam of the champagne 'that was not there.' I fancy, moreover, that this feeling of unreality, which obtruded itself on me at intervals, exists permanently among the majority of the new Imperial household, and is not altogether absent from the minds of the Emperor and Empress themselves, although they play their *rôles* with consummate skill and ease, especially the Empress; but their marvellous self-control is calculated to deceive every one except perhaps those who, like myself, are constantly on the watch. Different is it with the majority of

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their chamberlains, courtiers, servants, though not with the *dames d'honneur*. In spite of the former's phenomenal *aplomb* and their irreproachable *tenue*, they 'give themselves away' more frequently, for the slightest noise seems to startle them, and they are constantly glancing at the doors and behind them as if expecting some sudden catastrophe which shall fling them back into the humdrum existence from which they have just emerged, or worse. '*Mon ami*,' said Vély Pasha, to whom I communicated this impression; '*Mon ami*, you are right, and I may compliment you on your powers of imagination which enable you to enter into their feelings. To me, or to a Russian* of my age, that kind of look presents nothing unusual; it is the kind of haunted look which you may notice on the face of nearly every Turkish or Russian Court official after a more or less successful palace-revolution, when they expect at every moment the doors of the apartment to be flung open and a company of soldiers to lay hands on them and their fellow guests. In a few months from hence that look will gradually disappear, especially if the more cordial recognition of *le fait accompli* or of *les faits accomplis*, both of the Empire and the marriage, be forthcoming from the Courts of Europe. The Emperor is moving heaven and earth to obtain that recognition. Will he succeed? I fancy he will. His most formidable opponent at present is King Leopold, who is spreading all kinds of reports about him. It is Leopold who has been trying for the last twelvemonth to persuade Queen Victoria that the restoration of the French Empire means a perpetual danger to England. It was Leopold who put a spoke into the Emperor's wheel when the latter asked for Princess Adelaide's hand; and Palmerston, in spite of his own cleverness and his dislike of the late Louis Philippe and his family, was unable to checkmate Leopold in that respect. What he did prevent, and will continue to prevent, is the attempt to poison the Queen's mind politically against Louis Napoleon. He found an unexpected ally in Wellington, who, shortly before his death, went to the Queen, or sent her word to the effect that though Louis Napoleon might be unscrupulous he would not go to war with England. I know that you do not share either Palmerston's or Wellington's opinion, but you will find that they were right. What-

* Vély Pasha was the then Turkish ambassador to France. He was, I believe, of French extraction, and exceedingly well informed.

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soever happens, the Emperor will not go to war with England, and that for various reasons; although I have not the least doubt that a war with England would be popular at any time in France. To begin with, a war with England would mean a naval war, and Louis Napoleon fosters no illusions on the subject of the French navy,* even if he could find a plausible pretext for such a war. The only question which the Emperor can take up at present in a hostile spirit is that of the Holy Places, and in that direction the interests of England and France appear for the moment identical. I say appear identical, inasmuch as both England and France would prevent Russia from laying hands on Constantinople on the pretext of protecting the Christians in the East. In reality, those among you who suspect the Emperor of a desire for war are not altogether wrong, but they mistake his main motive which is not the aggrandisement of France at the expense of this or that power. What he desires most is a showy, but, for all that, Platonic alliance, an alliance that will cast a glamour on his newly revived dynasty, or, to be correct, on himself and the consort whom he has chosen in direct defiance of all tradition. Such an alliance, unfortunately, cannot be contracted *à-propos de rien*, there must be a real or supposed adversary against whom to combine, and accident has befriended him in making Nicholas not only the most convenient enemy, but the sole enemy against whom an advantageous alliance from the Emperor's own point of view may be contracted. Just work out the problem for yourself,† always bearing in mind that the alliance itself is

* The Emperor could have fostered no illusions on the subject, seeing that a twelvemonth after this conversation—viz., at the outbreak of the Crimean War—Marshal St. Arnaud had to be conveyed to the scene of operations on a tug, while the Spahis, his particular escort, had to be satisfied with "La Belle Poule," the vessel that had brought Napoleon's remains from St. Helena more than twenty years before.

† The author of the note did not work out the problem—at any rate, not on paper; but it only requires a moment's thought to admit the justice of Vély Pasha's remarks. There were only two European powers to attack at that moment, Austria and Russia. To beard the former on the pretext of freeing Italy from her yoke, as was done in 1859, would have been too dangerous then for the home peace of France; for the clergy never mistook the final aim of a free Italy—namely, the occupation of Rome—and the clergy had especially to be reckoned with at the beginning of Napoleon III.'s reign. Besides, a war with Austria would have only given the Court of the Tuileries the advantage of an alliance with the Court of Turin, and Adelaide, Queen of Piedmont, who was an Austrian archduchess, was not sufficiently important to counteract the prejudices of Europe with regard to Mlle. de Montijo, even if she had consented to do so, which is extremely doubtful. To court the alliance of Prussia or Austria in a war against Russia would have been equally futile. Prussia was in those days under the tutelage of Nicholas, whose wife was the sister of the King of Prussia himself and of the heir-presumptive. Queen Elizabeth of Prussia (the wife of Frederick William IV.) would not have paid a visit to the Tuileries; Princess Augusta—afterwards Empress Augusta—would not have been allowed to go, if she had wished. Francis Joseph was a bachelor, and, moreover, under too recent obligations to Russia for her assistance in the suppression of the Hungarian insurrection.

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the thing, and that it must afford not only the greatest number of chances of success from a military standpoint in case of need, but at the same time the greatest amount of social prestige obtainable. By which I mean that it must provide the most unexceptionable sponsor for himself and the Empress in the face of Europe. If you do work this out for yourself, you cannot fail to come to the conclusion that Queen Victoria is not only the most desirable ally, but, in fact, the only available one. A show of active good will on Queen Victoria's part will put an end at once to the equivocal situation of the Imperial couple; it will reverse at once the unspoken sentence of ostracism delivered mentally against the Empress by the female members of the reigning houses of Europe; it will, in fact, be tantamount to a presentation *en règle et en masse* at one of the 'drawing-rooms' at Buckingham Palace of all the adventurers and adventuresses among whom we happen to be seated at this moment.'

"I looked closely at Vély Pasha," says the author of the note, "in order to discern how much of all this was thrown out as a bait, and how much of it was founded upon knowledge. Two months ago (December, 1852), I had been told by a friend from London that they considered Louis Napoleon's somewhat too conspicuous concern about the Holy Places and the Latin Christians in the East as fraught with danger to the peace of Europe, and, at any rate, as premature. But no motive like that advanced by Vély Pasha had been assigned to it, for the simple reason that a marriage with Mlle. de Montijo was only decided on about the middle of January. Before that time the new Emperor's contemplated action in the matter was attributed to his wish to court favor with the clerical party. The new Empress, however, is also suspected of decided ultramontane tendencies, and both may be wanting to kill two flies with one blow. Be this as it may, there is no doubt about Vély Pasha's absolutely correct view of the actual situation. Directed against no matter whom, the first war of the Second Empire will be waged for the sake of securing to the Empress a different footing from that which she occupies at present.

"Candidly speaking, the present footing is the reverse of agreeable. The *grandes dames* of the Faubourg St. Germain, to whom the highest positions in the household of the Empress were offered, laughed the idea to scorn, as their grandmothers and

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mothers had done to a certain extent when Napoleon I. made similar overtures to them at his marriage with Marie Louise. Napoleon I. foamed at the mouth, and swore at all those '*belles dames qui font les renchères et ne veulent pas paraître à ma cour!*' and threatened to make them obey.

"He succeeded in a little while, because after all, the daughter of the Hapsburgs was as good as they, and there could be no comment on her past. His nephew, who has his temper under better control, and is less brutal and more witty, simply smiles and makes scathing remarks in the shape of epigrams. But epigrams, however brilliant, are not calculated to bring about the wished-for *rapprochement* between the women of the Tuileries and those of the Faubourg St. Germain. Some of the male members of the old nobility are showing a tendency to rally round the new *régime*. It will not do, perhaps, to scrutinize their motives too closely. They are influenced by pecuniary considerations or personal ambition.*

"But what ever these motives may be, they do not appear to be strong enough to affect the minds of the womankind of the new converts. They, the womankind, continue to stand aloof; their fathers, husbands, and brothers attend the Imperial receptions and entertainments by themselves. This makes it awkward for the six or seven true gentlewomen by whom the Empress is surrounded, for, in spite of Vély Pasha's wholesale condemnation, all the women are not adventuresses, but the men, with the exception of the contingent from the Faubourg St. Germain, and a *very few* others, have all a more or less shady past, and that notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, which in the majority of cases are real enough. 'I do not know a single individual here who in any other country would pass muster as a commonly honest man.' Thus wrote Finch, the English ambassador to the court of Elizabeth of Russia, and his sentence will almost hold good with regard to the civil members of the Emperor's household, for, as I have said, with the exception of the new comers from the Faubourg St. Germain and a few others, such as, for in-

* Shortly after the re-establishment of the Senate (January, 1852) its members passed a bill, conferring upon the Emperor the right of granting senators an annual gratification varying from 15,000 to 30,000 francs. The Emperor had the nomination of 150 senators. Dupin was one of the first to be appointed. But, as the author of the above note remarks, all the new converts were not influenced by money considerations. The Duc de Guiche, the playfellow of the Comte de Chambord, and to whom the Comte's aunt had left £40,000 per annum, could not have been thus influenced. This was the future Duc de Gramont, who rushed France into the war of 1870.

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stance, Walewski, Mocquard, and Ferdinand Barrot, they have all been involved in discreditable money transactions. The *vieille noblesse,* though clean in that respect until now, will not remain clean long, for albeit that the Empire is very young, there is the smell of booty in the air, and, unless I am utterly mistaken, the smell will even corrupt what has been hitherto the most invulnerable section of the French nation, the French army, by which, of course, I mean the higher grades.

"As it is, these civilians are, as yet, the most interesting to the dispassionate observer, especially those who for reasons which it is impossible to guess and rarely possible to ascertain, have been pitchforked into high places. The number of civilian craftsmen who 'staged' the *coup d'état* is pretty well-known; they are Persigny and Maupas; yet, to see these new-fangled dignitaries strut and pose, to hear them talk, one would really think that each of them had borne the whole brunt of the affair. There is a minister* who would fain have us believe that he furnished thousands upon thousands to defray the expenses of the *coup d'état.* As it happens I know for a fact that the *coup d'état* was carried out with very little money, one might say without any money, for the President had not sufficient to settle the notes that were sent in afterwards for the refreshment of the troops, though the whole amount did not exceed 15,000 francs. I have heard this boast on the part of the minister for the last three months, and the other day while at luncheon with Véron, I happened to mention it. Sophie, his housekeeper,† was in the room, and as she is an old and trusty servant, the like of whom one rarely sees off the stage, she often gives her opinion on men and things without being asked. 'He lent the Emperor money!' she interrupted, '*vraiment la plaisanterie est trop bonne. Voyons, monsieur,*' turning to her master: 'you know well enough that he would not lend a *traître sou* (a red cent) to any one to save him from starvation. Does not monsieur remember his coming in one morning after he had been to see the President, and his telling monsieur how nicely he had been received? Thereupon he told monsieur,' this particularly to me, 'that the President had offered to make him a

* At the especial request of the Editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, I have suppressed nearly all the names from this note.

† She was a famous character. I have given a short account of her in *An Englishman in Paris,* Vol. I., Chap. 3.

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minister.' "Why didn't you accept?" asked monsieur. "I would have done so," answered he, "but I was afraid of his asking me to lend him some money." 'It's quite true,' Véron burst out laughing. 'I had forgotten all about it.'

"There is also an equally brand-new chamberlain, who goes about bellowing that as long as he remains at the Tuileries not a hair of the Emperor's head will be hurt—that, in fact, he will be the French Roustan to Napoleon III., while every one knows that a few months before the *coup d'état* he said repeatedly to any and every one who would listen to him that 'Louis Napoleon ought to be got rid of,' and that 'the man who should put a bullet through his head would deserve well of his country.' "

I have given this note *in extenso* because I feel convinced, from collateral evidence, both from English and French sources, that it contains the explanation of France's share in the Crimean War. My reason for not producing that evidence is simply want of space. By this time Napoleon III. had become fully alive to the necessity of counteracting the unfavorable impression produced throughout Europe by the *faits et gestes* of his courtiers, which doings formed the main topic of the despatches sent by the various ambassadors to their governments. To check, let alone put an end to, those doings was at that moment absolutely impossible, for the simple reason that such an attempt would have entailed the banishment of the whole of his family from the Tuileries and perhaps from France; for those whose foremost aim and duty it should have been to preserve the by no means unsullied records of the Bonapartes from additional stains, seemed bent on besmirching those records still further, and to this charge there is scarcely an exception.

The whole of the Emperor's family, with the exception of Anna Murat, afterwards Duchesse de Mouchy, vied with one another to bring the dynasty into contempt; and the Emperor, when exposure became imminent, had to bear the brunt of their misdoings to avoid public scandal.

Every now and then there was a comic side to the Emperor's part of mediator, financial stopgap, and universal peacemaker, especially when complications of a somewhat flighty nature had to be adjusted, in which cases the sovereign was made the scapegoat for the doings of both parties, sometimes with his will, more often against it.

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As time goes on and the dynasty becomes apparently more consolidated at home and abroad, this original attitude of *sans-gêne* with regard to the Emperor will assume a form which even the least observant cannot fail to notice, for there lies one of the germs of the Franco-German War. As yet, however, we are at the period immediately before and after the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Napoleon III. is still the sole dispenser of the good things, when the adventurers around him are not sufficiently daring, but above all not sufficiently accredited in the eyes of France, whom eventually they are to bleed in all her veins, to help themselves. The "Haussmannizing" of Paris, that theoretically honest, beneficent and gigantic idea, is only in its infancy, and has not been corrupted into a system of shameless robbery and the forebear of systems equally shameless. In one word, the sovereign is as yet the sovereign, considerably hampered by his past, it is true, and often yielding where he ought to resist, but not the puppet of the most gangrened society that ever existed on the face of the civilized earth, as will be seen later on.

Meanwhile the struggle in the Crimea was running its course; the battles of the Alma, Balaclava and Inkermann had been fought, but with the exception of a State visit from the Queen to the French ambassador in London in 1854, the Anglo-French alliance had not been productive of the results which according to Vély Pasha were the chief motive of that alliance on the part of Napoleon III. I quote once more from one of the notes given to me by M. de Maupas; but, unlike the first, this one appears not to have been written at one sitting.

"The French are almost apathetic with regard to the news from the seat of war. There was no enthusiasm at the tidings of the victorious engagements, and for once in a way the magic of the word *gloire* seems to fail in its effect, not only on the masses, but also on the better classes; and this, notwithstanding the efforts of the newspapers to work the oracle. This lukewarmness on the part of the nation is not due to the fact of 'the glory being divided,' as some of my English friends who were here a few days ago suggest. It is due to the impression generally prevailing that France is taking the chestnuts out of the fire for England to munch; in other words, that France is being made the catspaw of England. And the impression is shared by the court itself; for, of course, no one outside the court circles

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and very few within have a definite idea of the real reason that prompted the Emperor to contract this alliance—for I begin to think that Vély Pasha was absolutely correct in his surmises. If so, the Emperor and Empress must be greatly disappointed, for as yet no invitation from Windsor has reached the Tuileries. That both are clever enough to hide their disappointment there is not the shadow of a doubt; at the same time, the Empress, who is a Spaniard and consequently impulsive, may have dropped a few words expressing her dissatisfaction with things as they appear, while still hiding her real thoughts, and these words have no doubt been magnified and spread about. The Empress is slowly gathering round her a coterie—as yet it is not a party—whose avowed mission, or rather pretension it is to take a share in politics. Their targets at present are Jérôme and his son, which puts the Emperor in an awkward position; for, not to mince matters, I believe the Emperor is afraid of Jérôme's son and I am not the only one who fosters this belief. Lord Cowley said as much the other day.

"Success at last! The Emperor and Empress are going to England about the middle of next month.* The visit, from what I hear of those who do know, will be the upshot of a cleverly enacted comedy within a comedy. How far it will deceive those who, in spite of themselves perhaps, have been drawn into the cast, I am unable to say, but two of the principal actors, the Emperor and the Empress, have every reason to be satisfied. It appears that some months ago the Emperor expressed his intention to Lord Clarendon to take command of the army in the Crimea. Clarendon quietly told the Emperor to abandon the idea, and the matter was not referred to again until within the last fortnight or three weeks, when the Empress at one of the receptions, took Lord Cowley aside, and with tears in her eyes, communicated to him that the Emperor had reverted to his original intention and was determined this time to carry it through. 'I cannot and dare not dissuade the Emperor; if I did, there might be an outcry against me;' the Empress said, or words to that effect. The Empress also as good as said that in this instance her usual influence over the Emperor would be of no avail, that in fact she did not have much faith in any one's in-

* This part of the note must, therefore, have been written in March, 1855. The remaining part seems also divided by a short interval.

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fluence except perhaps that of the English court. Two or three days afterwards Cowley had a private letter from England on the same subject, stating that both Walewski and Countess Walewski had expressed a similar opinion. Cowley gives one pretty clearly to understand that he did not for one single moment believe in the Emperor's genuine intention to go to the Crimea, or in the Empress' belief in that intention, at the same time he is quite willing to admit that the Emperor would have gone if the invitation to Windsor had not been given. As that, still according to Cowley's admission, was a contingency to be avoided at all costs, he also set to work to procure the invitation, but whosoever else is, Cowley is not the dupe of the comedy.

"The visit to England, it appears, has gone off most admirably. If it was a comedy, the London crowd, the City Corporation, the public bodies have seconded the Queen and Prince Albert in a marvellous manner in the spectacular part of it. For though Londoners are not more intelligent than the dwellers in other capitals of Europe, a good many among the former must have had an idea, however vague, that all the traditions of the English Court and the private life of the sovereign herself were opposed to the reception *en famille* of this very brand new Imperial couple. But the Queen having said "A," her good-tempered Londoners were determined to proceed to the last letter of the alphabet, and before they were half through with it made the comedy a reality. Of course, the unquestionable beauty of the Empress has had something to do with this spontaneity, but if I read the private accounts which have reached me aright, the Emperor himself did more than any one else to provoke that enthusiasm by the masterly interpretation of his part. He adopted the tactics he had found so effectual at Strasburg and Ham and Boulogne during his presidential journeys, and without waiting for people to remind him of his adventurous past, he reminded people of it. What was cleverer still, he did it *dès son entrée en scène,* as the French would say. As the Royal and Imperial procession wound its way up St. James' Street, less than an hour after his arrival, he stood up in his carriage and showed the Empress the lodgings in King Street he had occupied when his future seemed dark and dreary enough.* That, unless I am

* History always repeats itself. The first time Napoleon I. and Marie-Louise crossed the Pont-Neuf together, the Emperor stood up in his carriage and pointed out to his bride a house on the Quai Conti. Great consternation of the tradesmen

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mistaken in my own countrymen, 'did the trick.' Next day, the story went the round of the papers, supplemented by other anecdotes from those who had known Prince Louis when he was a familiar figure at the clubs and at Lady Blessington's; the writers vying with one another in laying stress on the indomitable strength of will in adversity of the new Emperor and conveniently forgetting how they had laughed that strength of will to scorn at the time of its display. In short, twenty-four hours after the raising of the curtain upon that particular act of the comedy, the author of the play as well as *all* the actors in it, seeing that every one was satisfied, might have asked one another with Don Basile in *Le Barbier de Séville*—'*Qui trompe-t-on ici? tout le monde est dans le secret.*' As it happened, every one was not let into the secret, not even among those who ought to have made it their business to be—I am referring to the *corps diplomatique*. Mr. Buchanan, the United States Minister in London, had no idea that all this was a comedy and that the Emperor no more intended to proceed to the Crimea than Mr. Buchanan himself. He was under the impression that this great show of goodwill to the Emperor was a kind of 'God's speed' on his journey to the seat of war. At the reception at Walewski's the Emperor went up to Mr. Buchanan expressing the hope that he would see him at the forthcoming Exhibition, and at the same time mentioning his regret that the United States should not be represented more effectually, from an industrial and manufacturing point of view, at the New Palais de l'Industrie. The fact is, there has been already a good deal of comment on this absence of competition on the part of the United States, and in some quarters it has been construed into a political manifestation of a hostile nature to the Emperor himself, if not against the Empire, To do the Emperor justice, it should be said that he never speaks but in terms of the greatest admiration of America; and he probably felt somewhat sore on the subject, though I feel certain that he did not show his annoyance. Mr. Buchanan, with great tact, replied

on the quay, who were under the impression that the whole of their dwellings had been singled out for demolition, and in those days there was no Municipal Council to have contested the will of the sovereign, who had, however, no such intention. He was simply pointing out to the Empress the house on the fifth floor of which he had lodged, when he came to Paris from Brienne. I remember, when a youth, seeing the tablet which had been placed in front of the house since 1853, in commemoration of the fact. *L'Empereur Napoléon Bonaparte, officier d'artillerie, sortant de l'école de Brienne, demeurait au* 5me *étage de cette maison.*

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that he was shortly going back to the United States, which would make it difficult therefore to accept the Emperor's invitation. 'Steam is a wonderful thing in shortening distances,' said the Emperor. 'True, sire;' replied the Minister with somewhat less tact than he had shown before. 'The distance between Paris and Washington is perhaps less great than between Paris and Sebastopol, whither your Majesty, I am told, is going.' This time the Emperor was visibly annoyed. 'This is entirely my own concern, and no one but myself knows anything about it,' he said, drawing himself up and leaving Mr. Buchanan to stare almost open-mouthed at him. I can understand the astonishment of the Minister, but he could not, for the simple reason that he had neglected to keep himself posted up in the undercurrents of the moment, a thing which no diplomatist should neglect. He had unwittingly reminded Napoleon III. that all the cheers, all the speeches, all the bunting, all the State pageantry of the last few days were virtually the result of a false pretence on Napoleon's part, and Napoleon did not like it."

Here ends the note which, together with the one that preceded it, lets in more light on the secret causes of France's share in the Crimean War than any number of so-called political histories. The first war of the Second Empire was undertaken not for political but for social purposes, namely, to give the new Empress the sponsor she lacked face to face with the sovereigns of Europe. The second (1859) was waged to save the emperor himself from assassination; the third (Mexico) in order to cover the frauds of Morny in connection with the Jecker bonds: the fourth for the sake of securing the tottering Napoleonic dynasty to the Prince Imperial. I fancy I have already proved the first of these four contentions; I will endeavor to make good the other three in the course of these papers.

One thing is absolutely certain. Even amidst the excitement caused by the Queen's return visit to Napoleon III., Paris, if not the whole of France, distinguished clearly between the sovereign and the nation over which she ruled. I am enabled to speak about this without reference to notes, for four months after the termination of that visit, I set foot in the French capital for the first time, and although I was but a mere lad, I paid a great deal of attention to the conversations around me, for the simple reason, perhaps, that there was little else to do. The

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relatives with whom I had come to stay were old bachelors, our home was the habitual resort of a number of men of note, and I had no companions of my own age. I could not but listen; and being blessed—or cursed—with an excellent memory, I remember those conversations, after forty years, as if I had heard them yesterday. And the subject of the Queen's visit and France's relations with England seemed inexhaustible, especially after the return of the French troops from the Crimea; a spectacle which I was privileged to witness three days after my arrival. It was on that occasion that I also caught my first glimpse of Napoleon III. as the troops marched past him on the Place Vendôme after he had ridden along the whole length of the Grand Boulevards to receive them on the Place de la Bastille. We had a "police-pass," and were allowed to walk in the middle of the road, unhindered by any one. Though I did not speak French so fluently as I do now, I understood everything that was said. "This is the revenge of Moscou," remarked my grand-uncle to a friend whom we met. "You are mistaken, dear friend," was the reply, "it is the stultification of Waterloo and St. Helena." Though I understood the words, I did not understand their sense, and when we got home I asked, for I had been taught to ask. My uncle explained as well as he could to a lad of thirteen, and, presumptuous as it may sound, I did understand. From that moment I have never ceased to understand that no amount of diplomatic tall-talk or soft-sawder will ever remove from the French mind the dislike of the English. I understood it still better when, a week later, a friend of my relatives, a surgeon-major who had just returned from the Crimea, paid them a visit. He was one of those courteous gentlemen, the like of whom are fast dying out in France, but his courtesy notwithstanding, he had not a good word to say for any of the English officers with the exception of Colin Campbell. He did not for one moment question their bravery and refrained from commenting on their military talents. He was simply dwelling upon their innate, albeit carefully suppressed, antagonism to the French. "The men are different," he said, "they fraternize well enough, especially the Irish and the French. I remember," he continued, "when the more minute accounts of the Queen's visit to Paris came. There was not a single one whose face did not show the most intense disgust. I understand but little English, but I

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understood their faces well enough. The English soldiers suffered a great deal more than the French, mainly on account of their inability to make the best of things, and on account of their more naturally cleanly habits, but much of this suffering might have been avoided if the men had been allowed to come into closer contact with ours, for there is no doubt that the British troops would not have been above taking a lesson from our men in many things. But the officers systematically set their face against this comradeship. Yes, we have done wonderful things, as the result will prove. In a score of years from this day, England will have reaped all the benefit from this campaign, and France will be left in the cold when she wants an ally. The French are grown-up children and easily pleased. It appears that Victor Emmanuel came a month or so ago. That visit will cost France another war."

He said much more, for which I cannot find space here, but I shall have occasion to quote now and then from his recollections which he left to my grand-uncles. They are chiefly anecdotal, and refer to the Franco-Austrian rather than to the Crimean War. He had been away nearly two years, and the transformation Paris had undergone during that time struck him greatly. "I suppose it's all right. *L'Empire* means peace at home. After all, French soldiers would sooner fight for a cause not their own than not fight at all. The Emperor knows this, but he may fight once too often."

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

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THE FUTURE OF JAPAN.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE JAPANESE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, S. KURINO.

THERE are many important reasons why the people of this country should be interested in the future of Japan. Apart from the peculiar historical ties which unite the two nations, the changing circumstances of their respective positions promise to give enhanced importance to their relations. In the past, Japan has received from the United States proofs of a spirit of altruism rare, if not unique, in the intercourse of nations. The good will thus so strongly evinced still exists, but the people of this country are apparently awakening to the fact that they have more than a merely sentimental interest in the momentous events which are now transpiring in the East. Hitherto, in relation to Eastern affairs, circumstances have compelled the United States to play to a great extent the part of a spectator. Their own domestic concerns have absorbed the attention of the people, and foreign intercourse and trade and commerce, with Oriental peoples at least, have been matters of secondary interest. It is true that Commodore Perry made the first treaty with Japan, and that the United States have always held a leading position not alone in that country, but in China also. But it is not going too far to say that the great American Republic has not yet utilized to the full the opportunities it has had in this regard. Now, however, as I have said, there are signs of a change. The motives of enlightened self-interest, which are, after all, the chief springs of national action, are beginning to assert themselves, and there is evident in this country a growing disposition to recognize the fact that no other Western power has greater or more vital interests in the East than the United States. The relations of the two countries in the past have given proof

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of a partial realization of this fact; in the future the feeling must inevitably grow and strengthen.

Whatever may be the merits of our present controversy with China, and however great the advantages we have achieved, I do not believe that any thoughtful Japanese will regard them either as our ultimate object or as the consummation of our hopes. We have attracted the world's notice, it is true, by what we have done in this war; but, with the pride which every patriotic Japanese must take in his country's success, there must go the wish to show that we are capable of triumphs in peace as well as of victories in war. Military strength and military aptitude are vital factors in the well-being of every nation, but they are not all. The display of these qualities by the Japanese nation may be what has drawn upon them the eye of the world just at present. That would, of course, be only natural. War is spectacular, and when successfully waged becomes a sure title to the respect, if not the esteem, of mankind. But Japan has not been striving all these years for this one object. Her military affairs have been carefully developed only as an indispensable adjunct to the national welfare. They have not, however, absorbed any greater share of attention than they would have received from any other nation in similar circumstances. We hope that we have made advances in other directions quite as remarkable as in our adoption of Western methods of warfare, and we believe that with us in the future, as in the past, no more consideration will be devoted to questions of military defense and military prestige than a due regard for the honor and welfare of the Empire may require.

This much of explanation is necessary, because it seems to be assumed in certain quarters that Japanese progress since the Restoration has been confined to the acquisition of military strength, and that the future policy of the nation will be directed upon similar lines. The idea is an entirely mistaken one. Perhaps there is no better way of showing the error that underlies it, than by describing the changes that have taken place in the military system of Japan since our Emperor assumed the full exercise of the prerogatives of the throne in 1868. The Shiogunate, as history shows, had been dependent upon the samurai, or ancient military class, for the maintenance of its power and prestige. They were the backbone of the feudal system, of which the Shiogunate itself was the most complete epitome, at least in comparatively modern times. The

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endurance of that system for more than two centuries almost without change was due, in no small degree, to the special rights and immunities conferred by the laws of Iyeyasu upon the favored military class. This system had its advantages and disadvantages. While it preserved, no doubt, a spirit of chivalrous loyalty and of complete self-abnegation at the dictates of prescribed duty, it also created a class distinction which was not in harmony with the new order of things. One of the first problems which confronted the Imperial government upon the passing away of the Shiogunate was how to dispose of the services of the samurai. Many of them naturally assumed new obligations and entered upon the discharge of new duties. Many others, however, did not assimilate so readily with the changed conditions of the times. The government was able, by a system of pensions, substituted for the support which they had received up to that time from feudal lords, to supply the wants of a portion of their retainers. But these pensions were necessarily inadequate, and a great deal of distress ensued. Revolts and *émeutes* of a more or less serious character followed in different parts of the Empire, proving that the existence of a large class of men trained exclusively to the use of arms was a menace to the public order. The remedy applied was radical. A law was passed providing for general conscription among all classes of Japanese, thus removing the danger of a dominant military class by the adoption of a method of maintaining the military strength of the Empire similar to that employed by the majority of civilized nations. Thus, at one blow, the samurai lost the prestige they had enjoyed as the sole privileged military caste. The drastic nature of this measure can be appreciated best by one who fully understands the peculiar relations in which the samurai stood in ancient times to the rest of the population of Japan. The change was as complete as it would have been in one of the countries of Europe in the Middle Ages, had the privilege of wearing the spurs of knighthood been conferred by one stroke of the pen upon every hewer of wood and tiller of soil in the land.

This one act, it seems to me, solves the question of militarism so far as the future of Japan is concerned. Our standing army is not large in proportion to the population, and it is recruited impartially from every class. Recent events have proved that it is efficient, but they do not prove that it has been created and main-

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tained with a view to prospective conquest or for the purpose of exercising a dominating influence in domestic affairs, as some critics have alleged. I believe it will be admitted that the system upon which it rests has been capably and honestly administered. It should also be equally apparent to all who have full knowledge of the facts that that system is only one of a number of changes which have been introduced into our domestic polity, not at haphazard or by accident, but deliberately, and in pursuance of a general, harmonious plan.

Perhaps no event has occurred of recent years in Japan which has attracted so much attention as the establishment of a constitutional and parliamentary form of government. Certainly there is no change which is liable to have a more potent influence upon the future of the nation. Here again our critics have gone astray. It has been assumed that this important step was the result, if not of a sudden whim, at least of a resolve hastily taken and quickly carried into execution. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The plan of establishing a constitutional government in Japan was formed upon the downfall of the Shiogunate in 1868. Upon assuming the full control of the administrative affairs of the Empire our Emperor took a solemn oath, which is the foundation of the constitutional form of government perfected in 1890. The design thus announced was kept constantly in view during all of the administrative changes which ensued. The formation of such a design was most natural under the circumstances. It was in no sense the Utopian dream of visionaries, but the result of the deliberate judgment of practical men of affairs. Japan had been dominated until then by an autocracy which ruled the country with a rod of iron. Our lawful sovereign, and his ancestors before him, had been deprived of the practical exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. It is true that the virtual usurpers could not supplant the lawful line of Emperors in the affection and reverence of the people; but, acting as the deputies, as it were, of the rightful rulers, they exercised substantially all the functions of government. The vital change which occurred in 1868 naturally produced a rebound. Our Emperor and the people alike had suffered from the same causes. He had been deprived of the control of the Empire, and they had suffered under a form of despotism which had concerned itself even with the most

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trivial affairs of private life. What more natural, therefore, than that our Emperor should assure his subjects that the assumption by him of the exercise of all the prerogatives of the throne meant for them a fuller measure of personal liberty and a more direct participation in the affairs of government? Such a declaration was a logical sequence of the situation. In another sense it was a most statesmanlike measure, for it gave to the reverence and affection which the Japanese people have always felt for the throne an element of firm stability which time cannot shake.

The history of our country proves that in ancient times, before the military shioguns had usurped power, the ancestors of the Emperor exercised a mild and beneficent sway, which created much closer and more cordial relations between the governing and the governed than was subsequently the case. Consequently, the modern changes in the domestic administration of Japan have, for the people, to some degree the significance of a return to an older and better order of things. It is a fact, moreover, that even under the Shiogunate traces of ancient liberties in the shape of forms of partial self-government still remained among the people. They were only partial, and were confined to local affairs, but they remained as memories of popular rights once enjoyed and now revivified and broadened by the restoration of the Imperial House.

The methods adopted by the Emperor of Japan in conferring a constitutional form of government upon the nation are well known. The place which that act has taken in history is, also, I believe, equally well recognized. Such an act of voluntary abnegation by a sovereign of a portion of his prerogatives has been seldom, if ever, seen before. As I have tried to show, it was not the result of sudden impulse, but of deliberate and wise design. In proof of this is the fact that it was not finally effected until after extensive and thorough preparation. One change after another was made in the methods of administering public affairs in the years intervening between His Majesty's declaration of his intention to promulgate a constitution and to establish a parliament, and the final consummation of that purpose with the object of adequately preparing for its successful accomplishment. The most important of these was the establishment of prefectural and municipal assemblies, each having a certain control of local af-

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fairs, and each designed to educate the people in the exercise of rights which, later on, they would be called upon to employ in a wider field. Finally, as a crowning work, came the constitution and the parliament in 1890.

Of the results of this final change it would, perhaps, be better for me to let the facts themselves speak. But it is certain that constitutional government is no longer an experiment in Japan. It has passed the empirical stage and is firmly established as one of the institutions of the country. No better proof of this could be afforded than the success with which it has weathered the stormy years of its infancy. The duties which it has imposed upon the national legislature have not been performed in a perfunctory way, but have been exercised in a manner sufficiently alert and vigilant to prove that the new form of government possesses an abundant store of vitality. Of the conflicts which have at times occurred between the legislative and the executive branches of the government, it would, of course, not be becoming in me to speak; but this much I may with propriety say, that no such conflict has ever been so severe as to produce in Japan anything more than is usual in political contests in other countries. There have been storms upon the political horizon, and bitterness of party feeling; but, throughout all, the limitations of legal right and of constitutional prerogative have been respected. The attitude of the Japanese parliament at the present moment is to my mind a proof of the soundness of the basis, and of the strength of the principles, upon which the new order of things rests. Its patriotic support of the government at home and abroad is abundant evidence that it is capable of wisely exercising its prerogatives.

In estimating the effect of the establishment of a constitutional government upon the future of Japan it is, of course, easy to go astray. I, as a Japanese, may take too sanguine a view of its possibilities and may expect too much from it. I am not foolish enough, however, to claim that it would be possible by some artificial process to make the Japanese people capable of enjoying advantages of this kind if they have no real capacity for utilizing them. We are not attempting a miracle in Japan. Our sovereign believed that we *are* capable of some measure of self-government and graciously conferred it upon us. It remains with us to prove that his trust was not misplaced. All that I

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claim is that up to this time we have done enough to at least earn respectful consideration for our enterprise. Its ultimate success or failure after all will only affect us, and it has surely been carried far enough to be free from the censure of those self appointed critics who relegate all Asiatic nations to one plane, and are surprised, not to say pained, when their predictions of disaster are not fulfilled. We have been called copyists and imitators by some such, but this I distinctly deny. We have before us a problem involving solely our own welfare, and we are trying to work it out for our own best good. In doing this we have not sought to imitate for the sake of novelty, but to utilize those elements of Western civilization and modern progress which seemed best adapted to supply the necessities of our national development. Of course, anyone is free to express an opinion upon our progress and our achievements, not to say our morals, our manners and the like ; but all such criticism is not worthy of the attention which much of it receives. Any one may, for example, like a very distinguished critic who recently spent three weeks in Japan, write a book purporting to describe the whole political and social fabric of the Empire, not to mention the most secret aims and ambitions of its rulers, but Japanese at least will be pardoned if they do not acknowledge the value of such criticism. As to what the future may have in store for constitutional government in Japan, we can only point to the past, and express the belief that the future will not be less fruitful of good. We alone of Asiatic peoples have chosen to take this step voluntarily, and without the least pressure or insistence from abroad. No foreign influence has been operative either in the inception or in the performance of our purpose. This assertion may be regarded as an exhibition of that species of self-conceit which some of the critics to whom I have alluded are fond of classing as a trait of the Japanese character. I do not make it with any intention of implying that we consider ourselves sufficient to ourselves, but merely as another proof of the fact that we are laboring upon projects which we regard as purely domestic, solely for the purpose of improving our own condition, and not with any design of impressing the rest of the world either with our knowledge or our wisdom.

The change in the treaty relations existing between Japan and the Western Powers must not be forgotten in any forecast of

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the nation's future. The old treaties were the result of conditions which have entirely disappeared. So far as those portions are concerned which relate to restrictions upon Japan's right to regulate the control of her own foreign and domestic trade, some change would undoubtedly have been made long ago. The difficulty has been in the presumed necessity for the maintenance of the jurisdictional capitulations. These, it will be remembered, were established at a time when Japan first entered into intercourse with the outer world. They absolved aliens in Japan from trial by native courts and punishment in accordance with the provisions of native law. They were rendered necessary, as Mr. Marcy stated, by the fact that "cruel and unusual punishments" were inflicted under the laws of most Oriental countries. In Japan the necessity for such a safeguard has not existed, certainly within the last twenty years. But such safeguards instead of being relaxed with the lapse of time and with the lessening need have, if anything, been strengthened and increased. By a species of free construction which has no warrant in the written text of any conventional agreement undertaken by Japan, "consular jurisdiction," intended originally for the protection of the lives and property of aliens resident in Japan, has grown into "extra territorial jurisdiction," which is held to absolve every such alien from the observance of Japanese law, no matter how just and necessary. Meanwhile, the old order has completely changed. The small foreign "settlements," where foreigners formerly dwelt as in cities of refuge, have grown into large and prosperous commercial cities; foreign life and property is as safe in every part of Japan as it would be in London or New York. Complete systems of codified law, based upon the best models, have been adopted and are in successful operation; while no effort has been spared to establish a competent and an educated judiciary entirely independent of executive control. To all of these guarantees is added the even higher assurance which constitutional government gives for the safety of life, of liberty, and of private rights. The existence of such a state of things side by side with the system of foreign jurisdiction now in vogue, is too great an anomaly to continue. Happily its end is now in view, as treaties have already been concluded with several of the leading foreign powers (doubtless to be followed by the rest in due time) which will restore to Japan

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in a little more than four years from now the complete control of her foreign relations.

One of the first results of this changed condition of affairs will be the complete opening of the whole Japanese Empire to foreign trade and residence. During the existence of consular jurisdiction it has been impossible for the Japanese Government to permit foreigners to freely reside in all parts of the Empire and thereby to practically carry with them the immunities originally designed only for their protection in a few open ports. In individual cases such a concession would perhaps have made little or no difference, but as a privilege generally conceded it would have been productive of innumerable embarrassments. All this will be changed with the inauguration of the new treaties, and aliens will be at liberty to come and go, and to remain in all parts of Japan, as freely as native subjects.

But the most important and the most far-reaching consequence of this new order of things will, in my judgment, be the creation of improved relations between Japanese and foreigners. The maintenance of consular jurisdiction has undoubtedly been a potent influence in arousing some degree of distrust and dislike on both sides. The erection of such *imperia in imperio*—as the open ports have of necessity been—on the territory of an independent nation, could not but be distasteful to the people of that nation, even while the necessity existed. And when that has disappeared, the continuance of such an anomalous state of things must become doubly irksome. I do not mean to say that we have any reason to complain of the many upright and self-respecting foreigners who have taken up their residence among us. But there are others who have sometimes taken advantage of their favored position to exhibit a degree of independence from wholesome restraint in word and action which they would not think of showing to the authorities or the people of a country where they were not similiarly protected. The friction and mutual misunderstandings thus engendered, must disappear with the removal of the cause of irritation, and foreigners as well as Japanese must then enjoy the benefits of a more healthy, because a more normal, condition of affairs.

The disappearance of consular jurisdiction and the opening of the whole Empire to foreign trade and enterprise will also, in all probability, have a stimulating effect upon the commerce and in-

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dustries of the country. Under existing conditions foreigners are of necessity precluded from participation in many of the pursuits which have added to the national wealth by the development of the country's resources. The growth of Japanese commerce and the increase in the extent and variety of the manufacturing industries of the Empire seem to be among the most assured probabilities of the future. The volume of Japanese commerce has nearly quadrupled within the past twenty years. In equal, if not in greater, measure, the manufacturing, mining and other industries of the country have rapidly progressed. The growth and manufacture of silk and of cotton goods, in particular, have shown signs of wonderful development. In the latter article domestic manufactures now almost wholly supply domestic demands, and manufacturers are looking for foreign markets. This fact is of interest to American cotton growers, since the import of American raw cotton into Japan has so largely increased in the past few years that there is every prospect of a large and prosperous trade in this article alone.

The extension of Japanese railway systems, the increase in steamship lines, and the general inauguration of industrial enterprises of all descriptions, show no signs of diminution even in these times of commercial and financial depression. Railways extend to every important point in the Empire, whereas, in 1872, there were only eighteen miles of railway. Steamship lines under Japanese control also connect the ports of the Empire with all the principal ports on the continent of Asia, including Bombay. What the future progress of the nation will be in these and in other similar directions, it is, of course, impossible to predict, but of one fact there can be no doubt; that the whole Empire, in every department of labor and enterprise, has partaken of the forward movement which began with Japan's emergence from the sleep of centuries, and that, while failure has been met in some directions, the general advance has been so marked and so successful as to afford the amplest promise for future prosperity and continued progress.

This is, of necessity, only a hasty and an imperfect summary of some of the influences which will most probably affect the future of Japan. But general and incomplete as it no doubt is, it will have accomplished the object for which it was penned if it shows the reader that in far-away Japan there are things being

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done which are worthy of the serious study of students of human progress. It will, at least, have served some useful purpose if it proves to him that what Japan has done, is doing, and hopes to do, cannot justly be regarded as a spectacle set up for the world's amusement, but must be taken as the serious work of earnest men striving for a definite and well-fixed purpose. The man who studies the history of Japan during the last quarter of a century in that spirit, while he may perceive that mistakes have been made, will not, I feel assured, fail to discover the sincere purpose which actuates the only Asiatic people who have sought to improve their condition and to strengthen their position, as an independent and self-respecting nation, by voluntarily adopting and practically utilizing the elements of Western progress and civilization.

S. KURINO.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

JUDAISM AND UNITARIANISM.

CHRISTIANITY, having wandered off into Paganism in its early stages, has in its latest phase, Unitarianism, returned so closely to its first parent, Judaism, that some people are asking whether amalgamation might not be possible. Should any Unitarian desire to affiliate with Judaism because of identity of belief, our doors are always open. We do not seek converts, because one of the doctrines of our faith is that salvation is not exclusively limited to its followers, and because Judaism has been a common fount whence many religions have drawn; but to expect Jews to become Unitarians because of similarity of belief would be like asking the ocean to flow back into its tributaries, and would recall the complaint against a Shakesperian play that it was "full of quotations." We have never deviated from our strict Monotheism, to use the Greek term, or our strict Unitarianism, to use the Latin term, when once we had attained it; and if, after this lapse of centuries, the most intellectual of Christian sects is coming to our way of belief, it only strengthens our confidence in our grand old religion that has withstood the ravages of time and of man.

But are Judaism and Unitarianism identical creeds? Certainly Unitarianism's most advanced wing (for it has three distinct phases) is strikingly close to Reform Judaism. Both accept the "higher criticism" and the well established conclusion of modern science, both hold practically the same *Weltanschauung* and both are of course anti-trinitarian. But religion is more than a matter of dogma or philosophy. To be a living force it must touch life at every point. Judaism has never been able to express a creed that covered its entire activity. Its practice was blent with every social institution. Birth, marriage, and death had their special sanctifications. Times and seasons were marked off by sabbaths and festivals; rising, eating, and retiring, and every function of life, recalled the relation of man to his God, and fed the fires of faith and spirituality. Beliefs and morals taking symbolic form clustered round home and synagogue, and suggestive observance hallowed every circumstance of life. A distinct mode of religious life develops special characteristics and individuality. The nature of Judaism, for instance, has tended to sanctify family life, and to engender that remarkable optimism for which Schopenhauer never forgave the Jews.

Though varying with different ages, all faiths need symbols to stir the emotional depths and to clothe humanity's conceptions with the drapery of helpful association. These symbols help to hold together the different denominations of each great faith; and they foster religious sentiment, which is more tenacious than doctrine.

The Cross is the symbol of all Christianity, whether Catholic or Uni-

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tarian, although the latter rejects the doctrine of vicarious atonement connected with it. It has been made a metaphor for suffering and sacrifice, and so does service in ethical instruction. Indeed, its association with a crucified Saviour has made Christianity an emotional religion. The Unitarians have even retained "The Lord's Supper," and although it does not mean to them what the sacrament means to the orthodox Protestant or what transubstantiation means to the Catholic, still both extremes of Christianity observe this same ceremony and are linked together by it.

The institutions of Judaism unite its different parties in the same way. To the Reform Jew the observance of the day of Atonement is inspiration to better life; to the Orthodox it is almost the *sine qua non* of God's forgiveness. But to both it is the great day of religious revival and fraternal reunion. Naturally, the advanced Jews accept the critical view of the Exodus, while the conservatives adhere to the traditional view. But the Passover marks Israel's starting point in history, and the birthday of their religion for orthodox and radical alike, and for both it is the feast of liberty, and one of the foundations for the Sabbath.

This brings us to another all-important element in religion—the historical. Observe the progress of Judaism in its panorama of events: Sinai, Canaan, Jerusalem; the Conquest, the Exile, the Dispersion; the Law, the Prophets, the Talmud; the Maccabees, the Rabbins, the Martyrs. All are interwoven in our religious institutions, and are so many stones in the structure of our faith. The history of the growth of Israel's God-idea is part of the doctrine itself. How each great soul added a something to that great belief; how it broadened, and deepened, and grew in spiritual force and moral sublimity as each successive prophet-hero breathed his inspiration into it; how at length the vital truth, that divinity and righteousness must be one, so filled the horizon of our ancestors, that, letting conquest and art and many other civilizing forces sink into subordination, they felt impelled, in spite of themselves, to make religion their mission, for it had taken possession of them. "Hear, oh, Israel, the Eternal is One!" became the refrain running through the history of this "God-intoxicated" people. This watch cry, "*Sh 'ma Yisrael!*" was heard not only in the synagogue but also in the Roman amphitheatre, in the dungeons of the Inquisition, at the stake, in the Ghetto—everywhere.

Unitarianism has Christianity's history behind it. The Apostles, the Church Fathers, the Holy Roman Empire and the Reformation are great landmarks in its past. The Arian movement, the Socinian movement, the Church Synods, Calvinism and Puritanism indicate so many steps in its growth. Watch the development of Unitarianism out of Trinitarianism. First, the Holy Spirit was rarified into an influence, then the "Son of God" was explained away in a figure of speech. Gradually Jesus' immaculate birth, his miracles, his resurrection were bit by bit given up, until he is depicted to day as differing from all other men only in being better than they, including in himself all human virtue and free from all human sin, whose example is all-sufficient for endless human advancement.

But why stop there? Why is this spirit of rationalism not carried to its remorseless extreme? Why, having rejected his divinity, does Unitarianism still give Jesus this unique place in its teachings and beliefs?

Because the glamour of the old belief is on them still. They will never be able to look upon the character of Jesus as a normal man. The divine man in some sense he will always be to them. Even with those

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Unitarians who are agnostic, the worship of Jesus abides. This persistent factor in rationalistic Christianity is here impressed to show the force of sentimental association and historic background in religious life, and to indicate that Reform Judaism and Unitarianism, even when reduced to their lowest terms, are still distinct religions, partly because of these historic divergences, which react both on doctrine and on practice.

If religion were purely a matter of creed, Mohammedanism being a Unitarianism, might also have long ago asked Judaism to amalgamate with it. In fact Mahomet did make these overtures, and very surprised and disappointed he was that the Jews would not accept a creed so largely Jewish. But Israel's intense Monotheism could never compromise with hero-worship. We ask the testimony of history whether Judaism was justified in not permitting itself to be absorbed by its second daughter?

Finally when asked to pass upon the merits of advanced Unitarianism—the only phase we could consider—with a view to amalgation, we cannot ignore its insufficiencies as pointed out by many Christian critics. We are told that it has not gained in public confidence to anything like the extent of other denominations, not only because it lacks symbolic ceremonial, but also because of the vagueness of its beliefs, and because it has nothing to teach that was not taught before it came—that in brief it is but an eclectic gathering of modern scientific and religious opinions.

It certainly seems to us an indication of fatal weakness that a faith should only appeal to a cultured few, who least need its discipline, and should not reach the masses. But even among the cultured, Unitarianism was forsaken by two of its greatest representatives in America, Emerson and Frothingham. Why did it fail to satisfy them? Because it either meant too much or too little.

While, then, we feel the value for the cause of truth of stating minutely the difference between Judaism and Unitarianism and where the latter seems to fall short for us, we are glad to recognize an intellectual kinship growing out of similarities that also exist between them. And so we will go on our different ways with kindly thoughts for each other and with occasional friendly interchange of views. We feel nothing but admiration for the boldness and sincerity of the Unitarians, and rejoice to acknowledge our indebtedness to the inspiring teachings of Channing, Martineau, and Parker.

We are, furthermore, assured that, through the spread of its rationalistic literature, Unitarianism is rendering a beneficent service to Orthodox Christianity by holding up to it a more liberal ideal. It would be less likely to effect this service did it cut itself entirely adrift from the old moorings and start as a new religion.

MAURICE H. HARRIS.

A LAST WORD ON AN OLD SUBJECT.

THREE brilliant, well-known women have answered brilliantly Dr. Edson's rather remarkable onslaught on "Nagging Women." Will a few words from "the ranks" be out of place?

I feel that I have every qualification to be called a "Nagger." I am a step-mother, and in constant ill-health, nervous, and with a multifarious household of old and young, nurses and invalids, all whose wants must be met—serenely if possible—between sunrise and bedtime.

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I know perfectly well, because mature reflection shows me afterward, that I dispense harsh and hasty words when softer ones would have been better in policy and more Christian; that I often and often go back to an undone duty (the failure to do which, indeed, may not have been heinous) with more than deserved criticism. So conscious am I of all this evil which may properly be called "nagging," that the knowledge of it constitutes one of the bitterest facts in my existence.

I am not too feeble mentally, to try with all my might to free myself from this *almost* nightmare, as the testimony of a thousand broken resolves would show; but every new day brings with it more duties than its hours give time or strength to execute, and I am so situated that I *cannot* order things otherwise.

These conditions may not last, but they are the present ones.

I am constantly longing the while—as one longs for a green oasis in the desert—for such a change in these conditions as will ensure time for the arts I most love, a feeble glimpse of which is an inspiration to many an hour begrimed with sordid care.

When I read Dr. Edson's article, I felt: "Here is a man who *should* know how many of the homes in the land are made up; and yet he has no sympathy, except for cases of acknowledged illness from regular causes." I think if we could get below the surface in the lives of many homes, we should find reasons for nervous weariness, to make us wonder that the thread does not *snap*, instead of merely giving a high, harsh note. Let it be said: "Our homes should be so ordered that no brain shall have more than it can healthily perform." But if Fate, or God, has placed a woman with a conscience, where duties *will not* "let up," where nervousness, and in many cases, insomnia leading to drearier nervousness, is the result, and if a woman "fight manfully" against this fiend of Dr. Edson's, then I maintain that any large-hearted man with his insight, could do better than stab at wounds.

Dr. Edson says: "When a man comes from his office, he *must* have rest—or 'this way madness lies.'" He says nothing of the over-crowded, harassed brain of the wife to whom he comes, who in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred dispenses with as many of the accessories of toil, as is possible, at his approach, but who, nevertheless, if hard-pushed (as we often are) must go on with a tired brain, and *no change of thought* for the remainder of the twenty-four hours. Surely "man's inhumanity to *woman*" is the evil here.

He says in respect of gamblers and drunkards, "I have never been able to join in the chorus of sympathy for the wife," meaning, of course, the wife who may have made the home unbearable. But, in spite of this, with wasted means, and extra care, and all the other deeper woes which gambling and drunkenness entail upon the wife, has our philanthropist no pity in his heart for her? It may have been—nay it probably was—physical inability to carry all the load placed upon her, that out of a jolly, rosy girl, has developed a querulous miserable wife.

When was the beginning of this change? Doubtless when she entered upon the duties of wife and mother, and possibly of "household drudge," and night watcher with children. And shall pity be lavished upon a physically sound man, too weak, mentally, to find alleviation above a grog shop or a gaming table, and withheld from the poor quivering bundle of nerves, trying, however inefficiently, to enact the household rôle?

From my early childhood, and with no *knowledge* of nerves, I always pitied and sympathised with poor Gretchen, even while Jefferson played

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"Rip Van Winkle." It seemed that *she* and not *he* was the martyr, and I think many children have felt the injustice to be there.

Again, Dr. Edson *hardly* suggests that a *man* may be a "nagger."

True, at the end of his article, he says, "if the wife or the husband be etc.,"—a very small possibility, evidently, in his mind.

I have known at least two wealthy homes, where through the extreme irritability of the "head" of the house, children have been sent supperless or dinnerless to bed, banished from the table (to which they had only just succeeded from the nursery) for failure to hold a soup-spoon properly, and other equally flagrant offenses. The child, overwhelmingly grieved and ashamed, had to be hushed and soothed by the mother's *tact*, while she tried to uphold the dignity of the father. What of the demand upon her physical powers? *Or, are they of no account?*

I maintain that when we women do give way to uncalled-for severity, it is usually because of our over-strained nerves. The gentleman referred to had *nothing* to think of except the care of himself—to which care, all the household contributed.

Dr. Edson knows that I speak of no *unique* cases. He knows there are seasons unavoidable, in *nearly* every woman's life, when the cumulative cares of sick and aged, and of little ones, come at once. We *cannot* escape these seasons; they are doubtless a part of God's discipline. If our earnest purpose be to get away from the dominion of any evil tendency (and the overstrained nerve of any man, I am *sure*, would as soon succumb) shall we not have from the wisest of our kind, something that looks to be alleviative, rather than consignment to mediæval tyranny and the ducking stool?

ONE OF THE NAGGERS.

THE LATEST NEWS OF MARS.

BEFORE the winter season with its fogs, snows and high winds had set in at Mount Hamilton, a long period of good observing weather was enjoyed during the summer and spring. That good weather was thoroughly utilized by four observers—Messrs. Schaeberle, Barnard, Campbell and myself—with two telescopes during the whole of the recent very favorable apposition. The earliest observations were made on the first of June and very few favorable hours, or even moments, were missed. The great number of drawings, measures and notes accumulated must still be reduced, set in order, and prepared for publication, and until this work is finished it is not desirable to announce partial conclusions. Such final results as could now be formulated can wait till they have been viewed in the light of all the observations.

One piece of work is complete in itself, however, and the results derived from it are definitive. I allude to the observations of the spectrum of Mars by Professor Campbell. The principal details of this research have already been printed in the *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, and it is my object to show, in the paragraphs which follow, the nature of his observations and the chief conclusions to which they lead.

The planets, Mars among them, shine chiefly by reflected sunlight. The light of the central nucleus of the sun passes out through the solar envelopes, and illuminates the planet. If the planet has an atmosphere, a portion of the sunlight is reflected from the outer portions of this atmosphere; another portion penetrates the atmosphere of the planet and is reflected from its surface. To reach the earth the reflected light must again traverse

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the atmosphere of Mars (if so be it has one), must traverse the atmosphere of the earth, the telescope, the spectroscope and finally reach the eye. The original light from the central parts of the sun must then traverse the atmosphere of the sun once, the atmosphere of Mars twice and the atmosphere of the earth once. The light from the highly heated interior of the sun has a continuous spectrum; *i. e.*, an uninterrupted rainbow ribbon. The outer layers of the sun are composed of metallic vapors. After the sun's light has traversed these layers the resulting solar spectrum is no longer perfectly continuous, but is crossed by numerous dark lines fixed in position. These lines are produced by the absorption of particular waves of light by the outlying vapors. This is the kind of solar light which passes throughout the whole solar system, and which impinges on and is reflected by the planets and moon. The position of every one of the thousands of dark lines in the solar spectrum is known from accurate maps, made by Rowland and others. When the solar light passes directly through our own atmosphere (not reflected from any planet), it is modified by the gases contained in it, by oxygen, by aqueous vapor, etc. Each of these gases absorbs particular waves, and produces special dark bands in the original spectrum. The deeper the layer of our atmosphere traversed, the greater the corresponding absorption.

By observing the solar spectrum as seen by us when the sun is very high (that is, when its rays traverse a relatively thin layer of our air), and the same spectrum when the sun is low (near sunset, when its rays traverse a relatively deep layer), it is possible to construct two maps. The first map (high sun), shows the spectrum comparatively unaffected by the earth's atmosphere. The second (low sun), on the other hand, exhibits the solar spectrum much modified by the aqueous vapor of the earth's atmosphere. Admirable maps of this sort have been constructed by M. Thollon, of the Nice Observatory, and the modifications introduced by the earth's atmosphere are well understood.

Now, if the solar spectrum is observed, not directly, but after it has passed (twice) through the atmosphere of Mars, it will be correspondingly modified by this atmosphere. Whatever lines, not solar and not terrestrial, there may be, will be due to the modifications imposed by the atmosphere of the planet. If Mars has no atmosphere the observed (planetary) spectrum will be the combined solar and terrestrial spectra; it will consist of the sun's light modified by the solar and terrestrial atmospheres only.

We actually have an example of such a combined spectrum readily available in the spectrum of the Moon. The Moon has no atmosphere, or, at all events, an indefinitely thin atmosphere. If, then, we compare the spectrum of *Mars* and the Moon (under proper conditions as to altitude, etc.), and if we find them unlike, the unlikeness is due to the absorption of a Martian atmosphere. If, on the other hand, we find them like, then Mars has no atmosphere; just as the Moon has none.

Such is the principle of the method which Professor Campbell has carried out at the Lick Observatory, during the past summer, taking every precaution to exclude all sources of error. He was unable to detect any difference between the spectrum of Mars and that of the Moon under like conditions. That is, Mars has no more atmosphere than the Moon, so far as this method is sufficient to detect one. There is no more evidence of aqueous vapor in the atmosphere of Mars than in the no-atmosphere of the Moon. The method employed is delicate, but it is not perfectly and abso-

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lutely so. An atmosphere one-fourth as extensive as our own would certainly have been detected, and, very probably, an atmosphere much less extensive than this. The atmosphere of Mars, if indeed it has any at all, must be at least as thin as, probably very much thinner than, that of the highest peaks of the Himalayas.

There does not appear to be any escape from this conclusion. Whatever our other observations of a different nature may be, they must be interpreted to agree with this fundamental result. We see, already, that some of them do so (notably the observation of bright "prominences," *i. e.*, mountains, at the terminator of Mars). It is very difficult, on the other hand, to reconcile some others with these spectroscopic results. For that reason I prefer to wait until all our observations have been collected and discussed before promising any further opinion. But this much may now be announced as a definitive result from Professor Campbell's spectroscopic observations alone; there is no more evidence of aqueous vapor or of an atmosphere on Mars than there is on the Moon. And it is in the highest degree unlikely that Mars has an atmosphere anything like as dense as the earth's atmosphere at the summit of the Himalayas.

My object in writing this note is already attained, since the scientific results of observation—the only really important things—have been stated. Perhaps I may be forgiven if I go a step further and point out that the lakes, oceans, canals (of water), the snowstorms, inundations, inhabitants (like ourselves) and the signals they were making us, etc., etc., etc., have all vanished with the aqueous vapor. We have heard so persistently of these beings for so long, that people in general were beginning to accept them as proved. In 1890 I pointed out, on various occasions, that we did not then know which of the markings on Mars—the dark or the red—were land and which were water. In 1892 Professor Schaeberle showed that there were some very good reasons for reversing the ordinary belief on these points. In 1894 Professor Campbell has demonstrated that it is in the highest degree improbable that any considerable bodies of water exist on Mars at all. It is very unsatisfying, no doubt, not to be able to answer many questions which an eager mind can put regarding the planets, their constitution, their habitability, etc. But it is most satisfactory to have this year taken the very important step of clearing the way for such solutions by sweeping out of sight the fabric of assumptions and ungrounded assertions which has lately barred the path.

EDWARD S. HOLDEN.

MORALITY IN COLLEGE ATHLETICS.

PUBLIC interest in games and field sports seems to become keener every year, and is likely to grow for a long time to come, for the area of those who either personally take part in these contests, or who throng them as spectators, is continually increasing.

The importance attached to games may indeed be said to be a test, it is certainly an accompaniment, of civilization. The Olympian games did not become of real importance as games, apart from their importance as a religious ceremony, till the more brilliant periods of Greek life, and the triumph of Alcibiades in the chariot race, was a fit emblem of the supremacy of Athens, in the world of politics, literature, and art. Even the tournaments of the Middle Ages were not a recognized institution, until Chivalry

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flourished with all its ennobling influences, that glorious epoch of the Edwards, which saw the completion of Westminster Abbey, and the writing of the Canterbury Tales.

But it must be remembered that the sports of ancient Greece and mediæval Europe had direct reference to the serious struggles for military supremacy; the cultivation of wrestling and running and throwing the quoit, and, later on, the heroic contests among the knights, were all useful, as preparing men for war, the real business of life in those days.

Interest in our modern games is, no doubt, due to their immediate connection with modern education. From Plato downward, every educationalist has recognized the necessity of training the body as well as the mind, and games are the best training for the body. But the Greeks had very sound and practical views on physical training, and held that a general discipline in hunting and salmon fishing was better than strict training for a boat race; indeed in their view, as Professor Mahaffy has pointed out, rowing was the work of slaves. The time and money spent on athletics at our universities would have been thought scandalous by the Greeks, who would never have treated themselves as one treats horses and dogs, with a mere view to physical exercise. The importance of games and the amount of time devoted to them has certainly become excessive, but boys wholly devoted to games are better than boys wholly devoted to "loafing." We acknowledge that a lad who learns to captain a football team with judgment and temper, has gained an admirable lesson; we admit, without hesitation, that to stand up to a fast pitched ball, or endure any other trial of nerve with pluck and resolution, is invaluable training; we agree that there are moral dangers which can be lessened by the scientific cultivation of bodily exercise, and it is altogether better that some boys should play too much, than that many boys should play too little. But the "athletic spirit," as it has been called, is not represented solely by plucky football players, and judicious captains, and strenuous oarsmen. It is swollen by a mass of devotees, who do not very much exercise the body, but do very greatly exercise the mind on things of the body; they are, in fact, what would be called in race-course parlance the "ring," and are no more athletes than a "bookmaker" is a gentleman rider, or a man who knows the Greek alphabet is a scholar.

Into this frame of mind boys are very easily tempted, and often greatly to their detriment; morever, the need for mental as well as physical courage is not likely to become less, but greater, in modern civilization, and here, we think, the advocates of athleticism are apt to show a want of perception.

The question of exercise, or no exercise, is clearly not one of amusement, but of expediency. Apart from the Anglo-Saxon race, the habits of other civilized nations are often misquoted against the healthier instincts which we rather claim for ourselves. It is true that the French and Germans do not take naturally to the strenuous games which are the feature of our college life, but, on the other hand, they do not appear to suffer, later, from the want of such stimulus to active exertion. The ordeal of compulsory military service in which the three years of opening manhood are spent, is a physical discipline to which the spasmodic training of an amateur athlete bears no comparison. The incessant activity during this period of barrack life in France and Germany, lays the foundation of health; early rising and a natural bias to temperance in eating and drinking, may be supposed to do the rest in later years. The Jews, who alone refuse active exertion, either

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as a means of livelihood, or as a source of amusement, are, perhaps, the sole instance of a successful people living in temperate climates, who explicitly or implicitly, reject the duty of exercise; this no doubt is a survival of the oriental feeling that the burden of labor should fall on slaves.

On the other hand, if there are really any people who think that football and baseball are merely affairs of perspiring Philistinism, unworthy of the attention of the philosopher or an earnest man, they may surely be told off against those who agree with the late poet-laureate's somewhat hysterical hero, that "books are miserable and hurtful to the eyesight," and that boys are properly occupied in "hurling lances, whistling to parrots, and leaping the rainbows of the brooks." The subject is only obscured by arguing with unreasonable prejudices on either side.

A rational estimate of the value of exercise should gauge the amount which helps to the best performance of the daily work of life. Work that "pays" at school or college is usually sedentary work or brain work. The question is, how far violent exercise, or long, if less severe, hours of manual toil help or impede brain work. Statistics show us that the leading scholars of England and America have not indulged in, nor aspired to take, the more exacting forms of violent exercise; there are, certainly, instances in which prominent athletes have shown marked ability and gained distinction in their academical studies, but these are so few and far between as to warrant special notice on their accomplishment. At the English public schools we find that the "quiet and gentlemanly" game of "fives" is still pre-eminently the scholar's pastime, and here we may remark that the experience of Cornell University pointed to the conclusion that it was impossible to profitably employ the brain in the study of Greek, after a working day of manual labor, and perhaps the same holds good in some degree of modern athletics.

Now-a-days the intellectual path has been smoothed for a boy by every conceivable form of help; everything is explained to him in notes and translations and keys; he totters along the path of learning like a child with a chair. But mental pluck and self-reliance have to be learnt somehow, and for this the tact and discretion of our teachers must be held responsible.

The recent limitations which have been imposed by the authorities at Harvard, with reference to football, lead us to hope for more moderation and decency in connection with intercollegiate contests. The danger of confusing athletics with the perpetual talk of athletics, and of mistaking what boys like, for what is good for them, is the bane of our schools and colleges to-day.

OLIVER S. JONES.

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